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CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF CHINESE ELECTRIC
HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCE ADVERTISEMENTS FROM 1981 TO 1996

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Abstract

The boom in the Chinese advertising industry after its economic reform in 1978 has aroused the scholarly interest of linguistic researchers. However, most studies of advertising discourse tend to consist of pure linguistic analysis focusing on vocabulary, grammar and textual organization. Little attention has been given to other components, such as the visual images of the advertisements, while study at the ideological level is rare.

In order to fill this gap, I employed a critical approach to Chinese household appliance advertisements that appeared in the 1980s and 1990s. The theoretical framework for this research was constructed in line with the theories of Fairclough (1994, 2006), Altheide (1996), Wisker (2008), Halliday (2008) Dyer (1993), Williamson (1978, 2005), and so on. Of these theories, the theory of critical discourse analysis as developed by Norman Fairclough has been central throughout the research.

The focus of the research is centered on the particular manifestations of the advertisements in magazines entitled *Household Appliance* rather than broad generalization. To this end, purposive sampling was undertaken and approximately 82 sample advertisements were collected covering three time periods within the general chronological frame of 1981 to 1996 (i.e. 1981-1985, 1986-1990 and 1991-1996). The data analysis has been conducted on the two major components: first, linguistic features with three values (i.e. experiential, relational and expressive values) and intertextuality; second, the visual images concerning the themes of actors, clothing, props and settings.

The research findings revealed that the ideological values in the Chinese household appliance advertisements are embedded in the advertising language and illustrations. These ideological elements represent the values

of culture, social relations, economy and politics. The findings also revealed that the ideological values were either dynamic or static, but they were intertwined. Meanwhile, the comparative study of the data over the three phases presented a changing trend in ideological values. In addition these could be seen as related to the changing mainstream values in China.

The findings of the analysis suggest that ideological values are adopted in the advertisements consciously or unconsciously to attract viewers' attention and persuade them to purchase products. Meanwhile, the ideological elements have the function of mirroring and transmitting the values of society. My conclusion is that examining advertising discourse ideologically through linguistic and visual components shows how Chinese ideology moved in a pattern from simplicity to diversity (e.g. more ideologies in terms of number and variety), from being politically-oriented to being economic and profit-oriented, from conservation to globalization and westernization (e.g. more relaxed lifestyle, individuality and spiritual freedom) during the period of 1980s and 1990s. The changing pattern reflects the reality of Chinese politics, economy and society at a time when China experienced the growth of the market economy and evolution of Chinese mainstream ideologies and this also indicates the impact of economic reform on the change of ideological meanings in advertisements.

It is hoped that my work allows the researcher to discover more profound meanings behind the superficial content of the advertisements.

Introduction

Enlightened by the Marxists' theories of ideology, especially Althusser's "imaginary relationship" and Gramsci's "hegemony", I intend to adopt Fairclough's analytical model, "critical discourse analysis" and follow Altheide's qualitative mass media research procedure in my analysis on the Chinese advertising discourse in the Chinese Household Appliance magazines.

Research questions

Research questions are the key elements of the analysis, because the "question is the first real step in developing the ideas and interests you have into something that can be researched and enquired about in a manageable, well-shaped way" (Wisker 2008: 49).

In order to achieve greater insight into the ideological meanings reflected by the advertising discourse more specific research questions are asked below and they conform to three types:

First, the descriptive questions about the phenomena (for Questions one and two);

Second, the question about the differences between or within individual groups (for Question three);

Third, the explanatory question (Question four).

The first two types of questions intend to identify the existence of ideological values in the magazines and "ask what some phenomena are like", while the third type of question "examines whether differences exist between or within individual groups" (Lunenburg and Irby 2008: 127).

The following are the research questions:

Question one: Are there any ideological values in Chinese household appliance advertisements? (descriptive question)

Question two: What kind of ideological values are they? (descriptive question)

Question three: Are the ideological values static or dynamic? (difference question)

Question four: What are the implications of the ideological values in the advertisements? (explanatory question)

Besides following the principles of addressing research questions given by Lunenburg and Irby (2008), I considered some additional important factors. First, the concept of ideology has been normally understood merely as the ruling value that exists mainly in the political discourse. Secondly, researchers of linguistic area pay more attention to the linguistic issues in discourse analysis, including advertising discourse analysis. Thirdly, even some linguistic researchers agree that there are ideologies in the advertising discourse, they have not identified and interpreted their ideological meanings and forms. Therefore, it is quite necessary to display ideologies that are endowed in the advertising discourse rather than in political one. In addition, ideologies are common senses, they are not always abstracted unknown to us. There are different kinds of ideology. Some are cultural, linguistic, commercial and social. The other significant factors for addressing the questions, especially questions three and four are to explore the ideological meanings and functions in depth and to show their relations with society, economy and the Chinese reform.

Although these three types of questions might look simple, they are not that easy to be answered. For this, a series of theories must be studied, such as Althusser's assertion of ideology, Halliday's functional grammar. Specific methods are adopted, such as Fairclough's critical discourse analysis and Altheide's mass media qualitative analysis.

Rationale for the thesis

My interest in advertising discourse analysis began in the early 2000s, after my resignation as the general manager of the advertising and public relations company of a well-known state-owned enterprise. Then I returned to Beijing Language and Culture University and started teaching English in class again. When I focused on teaching the language of advertising I found discrepancies between the language used in advertisements and the examples used in the textbooks. What the textbooks offered was often the forms, structures and semantic meanings of the language, but not any deep investigation about the reasons why the language of particular forms and structures were used in the advertisements. In order to increase students' ability for understanding language from a broader and deeper point of view and to get rid of the limitation of purely structural-oriented language teaching, I began to conduct my research into the language of Chinese advertisements with the topic of "Critical analysis of Chinese household appliance advertisements from 1981 to 1996".

The motive that drove me to analyze the advertising discourse using the critical approach was generated at the University of Northampton where, upon arrival in September 2006, I first read Norman Fairclough's work, *Discourse and Social Change (2006)*. As a language teacher with a background in advertising companies, being involved in public relations and advertising from 1994 to 1998, and with a personal experience of China's change from a rather backward nation to a more prosperous country due to its developing economy, I decided to combine language theory, familiarity with the advertising business and an academic interest in advertisements to undertake analysis of advertising discourse.

According to Su Shimei (2006: 93), after the founding of new China in 1949, Chinese advertising did not develop rapidly and went through a tortured process of depression, reform and then the position of serving socialism. Upon the arrival of the Cultural Revolution in China in 1966 the Chinese

commercial advertising business was destroyed badly and was defined in such terms as: "Advertising is bourgeois business [...] a propaganda of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism" (Ding 1979); this field was dominated by political advertising, reflecting the major retrogression in Chinese politics, economy and culture. After the ten-year Cultural Revolution ended in 1976, China entered a new era of development in economic construction and the Chinese advertising business achieved its opportunity for revival and rapid growth.

In deciding to focus on the post-Cultural Revolution era after 1976 when China's economic construction began, I witnessed the Chinese advertising industrial growth from recovery, early growth and rapid development to prosperity for over 30 years from 1979 to the present. The retreat of the Chinese advertising business, particularly in the 1960s, also affected Chinese scholars' research into advertisements. Compared with western scholars' works in the domain of advertising whose linguistic research has developed over a hundred years (Chen 2009: 102), Chinese scholars have undertaken research only in the last 30 years, and have a lot to do to make up the gap between their scholarship and that of western countries.

The apparent gap between the Chinese scholars and western scholars is evident in the number of works published since the 1970s. In China only a small number of works about the language of advertising have been published, such as *Advertising English and Expressions* by Sun Xiaoli (1995) which aims to present 1000 commonly-used expressions in advertising in both English and Chinese. *The Chinese and Foreign Elegant Advertising Expressions – 10,000 Golden Expressions* edited by Zhang Xiuxian (1995) will be of some value to my research on headlines because it helps to identify ideological positioning and introduces the skills of writing advertising headlines. Huang Guowen's *A Study in Advertising Discourse* (2001) takes a functional approach to advertising discourse analysis. He Xinxiang's work of

advertising language published in 2003 illustrates a system of rhetorical devices. *Types and Production of TV Advertising Language* by Liu Yanchun (2004) is dedicated to classifying language properties and the way advertising language is formulated and so on. All the above reflect the fact that since 1995, the recovery of advertising business in China, the Chinese scholars have shown their enthusiasm for advertising but the number of published works is quite limited.

On the contrary, the number of publications on the study of advertising by western scholars is high. Let us take Guy Cook's four-volume edition (2008) as an example. This edition with the title, *The Language of Advertising*, consists of 80 essays by western scholars on their research into advertising discourse.

Another notable gap between the Chinese and western scholars is in the difference of approaches to the topic of advertising discourse. Regarding the western scholars' studies, there are many diverse approaches in addition to the linguistic one, including approaches based on theories of sociology, psychology, communication and cross-culture. There are also approaches that integrate the theories mentioned above.

However, most Chinese studies have concentrated on a description of linguistic forms and functions alone rather than examining the advertisements in a broader social and historical context that includes their deep connotative, cultural and ideological values. Another weak point in the advertising analysis undertaken in China is that greater priority has been given to the verbal discourse, and much less to visual discourse. The fourth problem is that the sample advertisements are available in separate and scattered manner. In addition, scholars undertaking linguistic study have rarely presented case studies conducted in the chronological order required for comparative analysis, and for exploring changes in the ideological values reflected by the advertisements in different time periods. In order to

improve research into advertising in China and fill the gap between Chinese and western scholarship in this domain, my research project will draw on the work of western scholars including Guy Cook and others who have analyzed advertising discourse using particular approaches beyond linguistic-oriented ones. For instance, the ideological shifts observable in Chinese advertising in the last 20 years will be traced with reference to the methods of Gillian Dyer (1993) who argues that advertising is a system with distinct signs by which ideological meaning is understood; and the project's aim to reveal literal and ideological meanings will refer to the levels of denotation and connotation advocated by Vestergaard and Schroder (1985). Guy Cook's statement (2001) that unspoken information (pictures and music) and shared assumptions with consumers as "an index of ideology" suggesting that there are shared knowledge and ideological meanings in ads will be valuable in tracing new relationships between producer and consumer. Both Williamson (2005) and Goldman (2002) reinforce these earlier arguments and Goldman's claim that "Advertising is a key social and economic institution in producing and reproducing the material and ideological supremacy of commodity relations" is particularly relevant to the changes in Chinese advertising that will be examined in this thesis.

Regarding the discourse analysis of advertising, Fairclough (2006) formulates his three claims of ideology in discourse:

- 1) discourse is the form of ideology;
- 2) ideology effects subjects through discourse;
- 3) ideology effects not only relations of people but the orders of discourse.

Norman Fairclough's contribution to the study of advertising discourse is to apply ideological doctrines to analysis. Although his advertising sample size is small and scattered, he offers a practical analytical framework for

exploring the ideological investment in the advertising discourse.

Considering the limitations and weakness of the previous analysis of the Chinese advertisements, what I aim in my analysis is to take a critical approach to advertising discourse. For the task of constructing a critical and reasonable approach, I shall draw upon approaches constructed by other scholars, such as Fairclough (2006), Cook (2001), Dyer (1993), Williamson (2005), Halliday (2008) and Allen (2003). More information about the chronological structure and theoretical framework is provided in the following section.

Research design

Drawing on Fairclough's and other scholars' claims about ideology and its relationship to discourse and their corresponding approaches to advertising discourse and language, the primary task of my research is to explore the ideological elements in Chinese advertisements. The second part of the research is to explore the particular ideological values in the advertisements over different periods of time. Finally, the ideological values between each time period are compared so as to draw a picture of ideological change in the advertisements from 1981 to 1996.

Significance of the study

For the purpose of gaining insight into the ideological values the present research will be conducted using an approach with particular characteristics that may differ from the approaches taken by other researchers in the field of advertising discourse analysis.

First, the critical linguistic analytical framework is underpinned by the system of the three-dimensional model (i.e. text, discourse and ideology). Although the three-dimensional model was suggested by Fairclough, the range of his study of advertising discourse was limited. What he analyzed most often was the news reports and some official documents in which an

explicit political bias was embedded. To examine a large sample of commercial advertisements from the perspective of critical linguistics will expose more examples of political, cultural and social values that can enrich the field of critical discourse analysis, especially the field of advertising discourse analysis.

Second, this research covers critical verbal discourse and critical visual discourse analyses, and can justify the existence and variety of ideological elements from these two dimensions over fifteen years throughout 1981-1996. This kind of research has been rarely carried out before by other scholars in a systematic way and across a long time span.

Third, the research may contribute valuable perspectives to the present analysis of advertising discourse, as no one has attempted a synoptic analysis of shifts in advertising with a focus on magazine advertising household appliances across the period 1981-1996, and to this extent this research offers a summary of ideological change as reflected in and constituted by advertising during China's major period of economic growth in socialist style.

Chronological structure and theoretical framework

For the importance of constructing the theoretical framework see Lunenburg and Irby's work entitled "*Writing a successful thesis or dissertation*":

Theory can provide a framework to generate hypotheses or research questions. In turn, they guide significant parts of the research design, including the data collection, data analysis, and presentation and interpretation of the findings.

(2008:122.)

Designing the theoretical framework, which functions as the plan of and guide to the research (including the procedure and methods), was one of the crucial tasks of my analysis. In order to explore the change of ideological

values in advertisements during this period, I designed a chronological structure for the data which I collected from the sample advertisements published in the household appliance magazines. Because of the need to not exceed the required length of this thesis and because of the limited time available, I decided to define a specific period of 15 years, and to limit the series to the period 1981 to 1996. This enabled me to define three distinct phases by which to measure change: Phase one (1981-1985), Phase two (1986-1990), and Phase three (1990-1996). Another reason I have selected this aspect of the commercial market is, with reference to one of the arguments in this thesis (which will be outlined in chapter 1), that electrical household appliances have developed rapidly in China since 1978 following Deng Xiao Ping's policy of shifting the focus onto economic construction, driven by the increasing demand of the Chinese consumers. The rapid development of the Chinese household appliance industry since 1980s to a large extent can be attributed to the advertising campaigns associated with China's economic growth since the 1980s as claimed by Huang (2012): "Meanwhile, the household appliance advertisements have been provoking the progress of the household appliance industry, through which we can also see the thirty-year-trajectory of this industry" and "Since the 1980s of the 20th century, a massive amount of household appliance advertisements have been blowing in a warm and sweet manner showing us the elegantly designed happy family life" (Jiang and Dai 2002: ii). With these advertisements of electric household appliances as the basic samples, the analysis is likely to identify some of the significant ideological properties and their variation across the different periods.

Through the comprehensive review of literature a theoretical framework was constructed (See Figure 1).

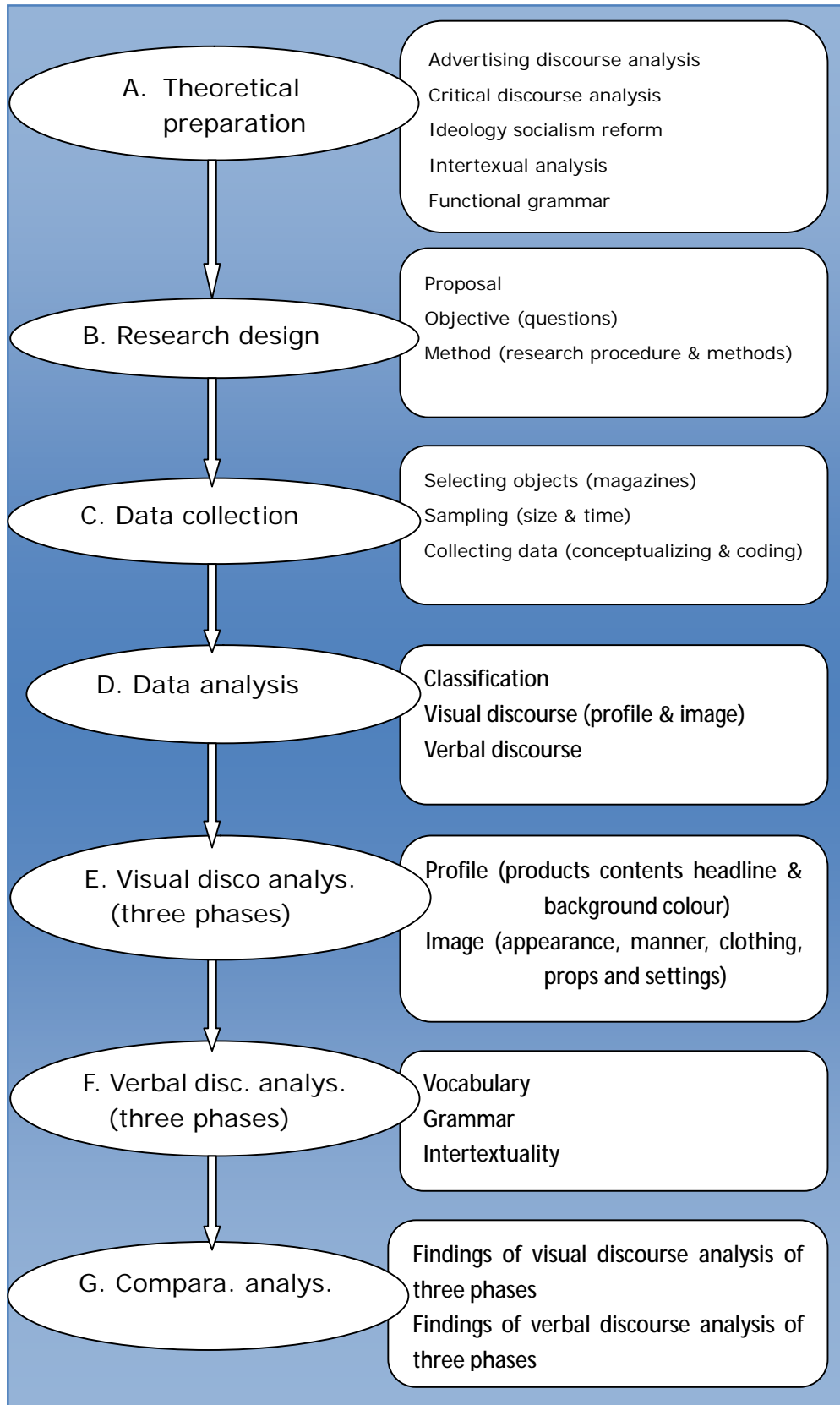


Figure 1 Theoretical framework of the research

As shown in Figure 1. the framework consists of seven sets of work. The

linguistic theories and models (see A. Theoretical preparation in Figure 1) that underlie the framework consist of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2006), advertising discourse analysis (Williamson 2005, Dyer 1993, Cook 2001), inter-textual analysis (Allen, 2003), functional grammar (Halliday 2008), ideology (Thompson 1990), Chinese socialism (Deng Xiaoping), qualitative media research (Altheide 1996) and so on. These are applied with reference to formative political and social influences on Chinese advertising: ideology (Thompson 1990), and Chinese socialism (Deng Xiaoping), (See A. Theoretical preparation in Figure 1). Following the analysis and data collection (See B. Research design and C. Data collection in Figure 1), the analysis is divided into two parts: visual discourse analysis and verbal discourse analysis (See D. Data analysis, E Visual discourse Analysis, F. Verbal Discourse analysis and G. Comparative analysis in Figure 1). For the visual discourse analysis, I adopt the approach suggested by Dyer (1993) while for the verbal discourse analysis, I adopt Fairclough's three dimensional system in linguistic study covering the values of words, grammar and textual structures. Specific methods and perspectives of other scholars will also be employed. The theoretical framework, therefore, integrates strategies and theories of scholars in sociology, and linguists in combination with Fairclough's "critical discourse analysis" as the main line. On the surface, the framework looks like a linear flowchart but in practice it goes in an iterative process.

Organization and contents of the thesis

Therefore, the thesis functions as a record of the research I conducted, and consists of a presentation of the analysis of the data taken from magazines over the time period 1981-1996 in relation to the research questions.

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 will present a brief introduction of developments in Chinese advertising, which range before and after 1978. In this chapter, I will outline

the situation of the Chinese advertising business from 1966 to 1978 with reference to the Cultural Revolution which pursued a policy of insisting on the class struggle and proletarian dictatorship against capitalism leading to the near collapse of the Chinese economy (He and Wu 2009: 123-135), and resulting in the banning of commercial advertising for business (Ding 1979: 3). The second part of the chapter will focus on China's economic growth following Deng Xiaoping's launch of economic reform and China's policy of opening to the West in 1978. It is reported (*The 25-Year Development Report of Chinese Advertising 2004*) that growth in Chinese advertising went through three phases: the first phase (1978-1991), the second phase (1992-2002), the third phase (2002-present). I will argue that there is a relationship between Chinese economic progress and growth in advertising; that rapid development of advertising contributed to the prosperity of the market economy.

I do not simply introduce the matter of Chinese advertising but also claim that the growth of Chinese advertising from scratch to a small and then to a large-scale enterprise was due to the sound environment of the market-economy. Similarly the features of the economic and social changes can be mirrored by the contents of the advertisements and so my analysis intends to reveal the relationship between Chinese economic progress and advertising growth. This is also one of the reasons why I chose household appliance advertising as the object of my study.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 will present a review of the literature enabling me to justify further the basic rationale for the research, identify the essential knowledge required from the theories surveyed, and locate the practical research and methods in the advertising area to be explored. The literature review in Chapter 2 will be structured in the shape of a funnel with a wide portion at the top part developing gradually to a narrow portion at the bottom. The first

portion of the literature review will show how general information on studies of Chinese advertising language, approaches to the language of advertising, notions of ideology, mainstream ideology in China before and after 1978 help shape the research arguments and outline. Following the general discussion of advertising language and ideology, the review of the literature will then focus on information closely related to the research to be presented in the following chapters. The information offered in this part will cover approaches to ideology in advertising, and discussion of Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA). While illustrating the scholars' theories and approaches to advertising discourses, I aim to evaluate them critically in order to identify their strengths and weaknesses. At the end of the chapter I will state my reasons for taking CDA approach for my research and will argue that advertising discourse analysis will not be in the form of pure linguistic description, but will be undertaken in order to examine the ideological value of advertising in the context of Chinese culture and society.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 will describe and explain the research methodology. It will begin with my assertion that in order to carry out my research into Chinese household appliance advertisements at the ideological level, and address the research questions raised in the chapter of introduction of the thesis, the analytical framework will be designed with reference to the theories and approaches to discourse analysis, particularly those of CDA represented by Fairclough (1994, 2006). Then I will explain the methodology in further detail.

The chapter will include the following: an overview of the research framework, research design and methods, visual discourse analysis, verbal textual analysis, and the specific research procedure based on the model of qualitative media analysis suggested by Altheide (1996). Therefore, the methodology chapter aims to offer a comprehensive research framework for

studying advertising discourse: the theoretical framework based on Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis and the analytical framework given by Altheide's qualitative media analysis.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 will present the results of the data analysis consisting of two major parts: the first will be the analysis of the profile of advertisements and the second will be the visual discourse analysis.

The data obtained from eighty-one advertisements will be divided into three phases of 1981-1985, 1986-1990 and 1991-1996 with the aim of identifying particular ideological features of the advertisements and also exposing the difference between the three time periods.

The section of profile analysis will deal with the advertised products without any analysis of the verbal discourse: this will consist of the contents of the advertisements and colours of headlines and backgrounds of the magazines. Analysis of the profiles will be conducted in two dimensions - in the light of ideological work in three dimensions: "building relations, images and the consumer" (Fairclough 1994) and with reference to the historical context of Chinese economic reform, the growth of the Chinese household appliance industry, its cultural elements and ideological work in advertising.

The section of visual data analysis will present the findings of the analysis - that is, the appearance of the actors, their manner, clothing, clothing colours, the advertisements' props and settings - this will be designed with reference to the categories introduced by Dyer (1993: 93) in her iconographic analysis.

These findings of the profile and visual data analysis of the advertisements in the three time periods (or three phases) will not only help form an

argument about what the advertisements provide at a superficial level but also show how they reflect the implicit ideological work and elements which underlie or are mixed with the advertisements.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 will bring the verbal data analysis into focus. The major concern of this chapter will be to examine the ideological meanings of the linguistic items. The three ideological values - experiential, interpersonal and expressive values - introduced by Fairclough (2006), underpinned by Halliday's functional grammar, will be adopted for the verbal data analysis. The linguistic items will be analyzed following the three dimensional model suggested by Fairclough (2006). The linguistic features in this chapter will be analyzed at three levels: vocabulary, grammar and intertextuality. Therefore, the framework of analysis will be the combination of three ideological values and dimensions of linguistic features in which proper nouns, personal pronouns, adjectives, transitivity, beneficiary and predicate will be explored. In the last section, intertextuality will be studied at the level of textual structure and ideological values. The analysis in this chapter will be performed in two kinds of historical contexts. One will be to study the linguistic items separately in their own time period and the other will be to compare the linguistic items across their time periods, therefore, the particular features of ideological values in the linguistic items will be explored and the change of ideological values in them will be revealed.

Conclusion

The Chapter of conclusion of my analysis will be a summary of the findings and the whole research work on the one hand, and on the other will consist of a further and deeper explanation of the findings with the aim of providing answers to the questions posed at the early stage of the analysis. The conclusion will provide a summary of the entire analysis, discussion of major

findings, answers to the research questions, and the contributions of this dissertation to the field of current study. It will also identify issues that appeared during the course of the research, the limitations of the research, the implications drawn from the findings and suggestions for further research.

Appendices

At the conclusion of the thesis a group of appendices will be provided for further reference including tables, and interpretations of some data and issues. These are provided as appendices as the word limit would have been exceeded had all this information been included in the dissertation itself.

Summary

In this chapter I introduced the background of the thesis, its purpose, originality and significance, the framework of the research, the research questions and the contents of each of the following chapters. The next chapter is dedicated to the political and ideological overview of the topic; it will introduce the Chinese advertising business before and after 1978, and in particular Chinese household appliance advertising.

Chapter I

The Context of Chinese Advertising Development

before and after 1978

Introduction

Since the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976 and the reforms of Deng Xiaoping in 1978, China has witnessed a great change in its political system, ideologies and economy. This change catalyzed the emergence and growth of the Chinese advertising industry. In this chapter I want to make a general introduction to the following parts: firstly, Chinese advertising before 1978 which will include a review of the political situation in China during the period of 1957 to the present; secondly, Chinese advertising after 1978; thirdly, household appliance advertising with a brief review of language studies in Chinese advertising. Through this introduction, I intend to provide a contextual knowledge about some of the main reasons why the (commercial) advertising was strikingly rare before 1978 and why and how fast the development of Chinese advertising was after 1978.

1.1 Chinese Advertising before 1978

After the founding of new China in 1949, China entered a new era about which Su Shimei says:

... due to the special international and domestic situations, until 1978, the Chinese advertising industry did not develop rapidly, and underwent a tortuous process from depression and reformation to the establishment of the underlying tenet for serving socialism.

(2006: 93)

Advertising is one of the products of a market economy. (Here, advertising is defined as commercial advertising.) Long before 1978, Chinese advertising developed slowly due to the shortage of commodities and highly centralized

constraints of a centrally-planned economic system without the modern marketing mechanism and competition, under which the advertising sector could not develop into an industry and the Chinese advertising in that era was more political propaganda-oriented.

However the worst moment that happened to the Chinese advertising sector was in the ten years of 1966-1976 when China experienced the biggest political riot in its modern history: the Cultural Revolution. Its complete title is "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (GPCR) and it was launched by Mao Zedong on 16th May 1966. Through this political movement, Mao Zedong intended to remove the bourgeois effects (including ideologies and government officials) from the Chinese Communist Party. As stated by the "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (GPCR) on 8th August, 1966:

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs, and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds, and endeavor to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do just the opposite (i.e. against bourgeoisie) must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs, and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art, and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

(Peking Review 1966)

It is obvious that this decision mainly pointed to Liu Shaoqi, President of the

People's Republic of China and Deng Xiaoping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China. They were accused of being the representatives of the bourgeoisie and publicly criticized as "capitalist roaders". Liu Shaoqi was soon sent to a detention camp, where he died in 1969. Deng Xiaoping was sent away for re-education in a factory. The Cultural Revolution was a period of great social and political calamity; the widespread chaos and economic disorder flooded much of Chinese society between 1966 and 1976.

During the ten-year period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) Mao Zedong did mention production but always put revolution first. His famous utterance (*People's Daily*, 7 September 1966) was to "make revolution, promote production"; later the phrase "ensure preparedness in the event of war" was added. Since advertising is closely related to consumerism and the market economy, "it was thought to be a special product of capitalism in China" (Ding 2009: 3), "a behavior to sell commodities at the capitalist market and cheat customers" (Xiao Yulun 1984, cited by Ding 2009). During this period commercial advertising for business purposes had been banned and neglected in China. With the guiding principle of class struggle, the advertising companies were dismissed, the admen went down to do manual labour or were criticized (Chen 2011: 47). Only political posters were legally encouraged in public for the sake of revolutionary movements. Lincoln Cushing describes this in his work *Chinese posters*:

The GPCR (roughly 1966-1976) has been described as representing a "lost chapter" of Chinese art history because of the narrow range of officially accepted forms (few media besides posters and theater were allowed) and the view that Party politics trumped artistic creativity. There are numerous examples of artwork destroyed, academic departments dismantled, personal careers ruined, and even imprisonment and death.

(Cushing 2007)

Even if the revolutionary posters were allowed in public, most of them were painted in red and filled with revolutionary slogans and images of workers, farmers and soldiers with Mao's selected works in their hands, nicknamed "the red sea", similar in meaning to the book title, *Red All Over*. These are visible in the illustrations below.



Figure 1.1 Be united to make greater victory. (huai18.com.con 2007)

The slogan written in Figure1.1 is "Be united to make greater victory."

This slogan is a quotation from Mao's report delivered in the 9th National Congress of Chinese Communist Party Conference in 1969. This Congress was held during the Cultural Revolution when there was a great deal of infighting in the Party. At that time, Mao Zedong called on all Party members to unite around the Chinese Communist Party Committee and carry out the Cultural Revolution to the end. However, the infighting of the Party would continue through the early and mid 1970s, when Mao was still alive.



Figure 1.2 Thoroughly pulverize the Liu-Deng reactionary line!

(culture.ifeng.com 2008)

The slogan written in Figure 1. 2 is "Thoroughly pulverize the Liu-Deng reactionary line!" published in 1967.

Both Figures 1 and 2 show us the extent of antagonism. That is to keep on to the doctrine of "class struggle" and fight against the counter-revolutionary. Commercial advertisements were strikingly rare though. Even if there were some posters reflecting commercial and business characteristics, the most important purpose in them was to advertise Mao's thought and political mottos. Figure 1.3. (ifeng.com 2008) illustrates the style of this kind of advertising during that period. Its slogan consists of two clauses: "To provide superior-quality goods, to serve the people wholeheartedly." While the first clause is concerned with product quality, the second is a quotation from Mao's speech for mourning a dead soldier in Yanan published in *Liberation Daily* on the 21th September 1944. Figure 1. 4 (baike.baidu.com 2009) for the inscription, "Serve the People" by Mao Zedong



Figure 1.3 To provide superior-quality goods, to serve the people wholeheartedly. (ifeng.com 2008)



Figure 1.4 Serve the People. Mao Zedong (baike.baidu.com 2009)

Mao's doctrine which was deeply rooted in people's everyday life with the ideological power to direct their behavior and thinking. It was a popular saying at that time that everyone must follow what Mao said (that is, Mao's ideology): one was either a revolutionary, or a counter-revolutionary. The examples above depicted the reality of Chinese advertising before 1978.

Apart from the political factors that largely affected the existence and development of the Chinese advertising business, the economic condition is also one reason to constrain the Chinese advertising business. Not only in the Cultural Revolution but also even in 1978 or later, after the Cultural Revolution had come to an end, China still remained in the state of a centrally planned-economic system. All enterprises were state-owned and collectively-owned. The production of goods and commercial activities (sale, purchase and consumption) was monopolized by government administration. The supply of consumer goods fell short of demand and food, vegetable oil, meat, cloth, cotton and a lot of light industrial products had to be bought with special coupons and subsidiary food cards (see Figure 1.5).



Figure 1.5 China-Anhui-Wuhu-Foreigner-Food Coupon-Sheet
(cgi.ebay.com.my 1991)

The above illustration is the China-Anhui-Wuhu-Foreigner-Food Coupon-Sheet which comprises coupons for consuming goods, food, vegetable oil and money.



Figure 1. 6 Food coupons from various localities

(chinatoday.com.cn 2009: 4)

These are food coupons from various localities from the era of state monopoly over the purchase and distribution of grain (Wu Na 2009).

These coupons were issued in limited amounts to each person per month.

It is reported that even in the early 1980s:

per capita annual grain production reached 400 kg, ending the history of grain shortages in China, food was still in short supply, and food coupons reached their zenith. Besides food and cooking oil coupons, there were coupons for pork, beef, mutton, chicken, duck, fish, eggs, sugar, bean curd products and all kinds of vegetables. Food grain coupons included those for rice, wheat flour, coarse grain, millet and potatoes. The many varieties of coupons were related to the diversification of available food.

(chinatoday.com.cn 2009: 4)

This article reports experiences; Zhu Guangrong, who worked in Beijing's foodstuff industry, recalls that:

at that time there were long queues in front of every food counter. Even frozen fish and expired candies were valuable supplies that people bought without complaint. So-called "high-grade candies and pastries" were ordinary fruit drops and walnut cookies, priced at RMB 10 per kilogram. The monthly salary for an ordinary wage-earner was RMB 40-50, but these hot items were in great demand.

(chinatoday.com.cn 2009)

Therefore, coupons and cards were as valuable as cash for exchanging goods at free markets and people also saved them as presents to give friends and relatives who needed them urgently or who had no residence certificate in those regions. Under such living conditions and the government planned-economic system, enterprises and companies had no

sense of how to advertise their products. As claimed by Su Shimei, when she talks about the economic impact on the Chinese advertising:

As shown in the statistics, the fundamental national economic structure changed, the total trend of accumulation rate continued to increase, while the consumption rate continued to decline; the productive accumulation rate proportion expanded, while the speed of consumption per capita grew slowly which built up the typical "hysteretic consumption" of the urban and rural residents in China. This was one of the factors that led to the change of the advertising market.

(2006: 120)

However, from the explanation of the economic and political factors impacting the advertising business in China before 1978, we can also see that the Chinese economy was also closely linked with the Chinese political system and the mainstream ideology.

1.2 Chinese Advertising after 1978

Since the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee held in 1978, the Chinese economy developed rapidly; the advertising industry started to grow with the economic increase, a new relationship between supply and demand was established and developed quickly.

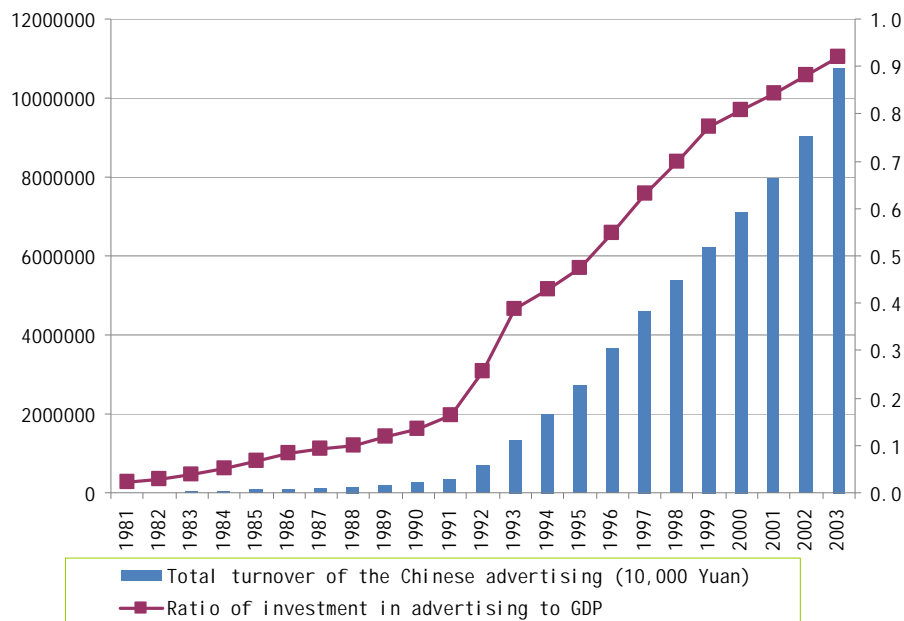


Figure 1.7 Development of Chinese advertising (1981-2003)

In Figure 1.7 (Zhong and Wang 2004: 43), the blue bar shows the total turnover of advertising in China and the purple line shows the ratio of investment in advertising industry to GDP over the past 23 years. From Figure 1.7 we can see that the development of the Chinese advertising industry is similar to the situation of the Chinese economic development. According to *China's advertising industry in progress* (2004: 1-4) Chinese advertising industrial growth can be divided into four phases from 1979 to present: Phase One – recovery in 1979-1981; Phase Two – early growth in 1981-1992; Phase Three – rapid development in 1992-2002; Phase Four – full development and perfection after 2002.

1.2.1. Phase One – recovery (1979-1981)

Due to the state monopoly, the material supply was short and could not meet Chinese consumers' demand. Many commodities had to be bought with special coupons. Most of the Chinese enterprises lacked the sense of advertising. For the first time, *Tianjin Daily* (a local government newspaper of Tianjin city) on 4th January 1979 published a commercial advertisement

for toothpaste.



Figure 1.8 The first toothpaste advertisement after 1978

Figure 1. 8 (outeasy.wordpress.com/2007/06/) shows the first advertising in China after 1978 for the toothpaste with the brand-name of 'Blue Sky' published in *Tianjin Daily* (4th January 1979).

On November 14th 1979, *Wenhui Daily* (a local government newspaper of Shanghai city) published an article written by Ding Yunpeng which justified the practical function of advertisement in theory: "It is necessary to treat advertising as a science which is concerned with promoting foreign and domestic trade, improving business management [...] Try to set up a close contact between the public and sectors of production and sale through advertisements." The total annual turnover of that year (1979) was 10 million Yuan (RMB); there were only 13 advertising agencies owned by the government. The total number of professional advertising staff was 1,000 in 1981; the annual turnover of the whole country was 118 million Yuan (RMB); agencies for advertising reached 1,600: they were state-owned or collectively-owned with a staff of 16,000. Investment in advertising took 0.024% of GDP (Zhong and Wang 2004:1). The advertising business was concentrated mainly in a few big cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou.

The publication of advertisements depends on radio, television, newspapers and other mass media. The scope was too limited for advertising to be called

an industry.

1.2.2 Phase Two - early growth (1981-1991)

During the period of 1981-1991, there was a radical change in the relationship between supply and demand for goods. The factor that stimulated economic growth came from Chinese domestic consumption. There was no longer a drastic shortage of basic living goods and lack of supply according to demand. Special coupons for purchasing goods were abolished.

Since 1981 along with the expansion of the open-door policy and the progress of reform, the Chinese national economy has begun to shift from a planned-economy to a market-economy. The Chinese market developed from being marked by a shortage of goods to demonstrating abundance and competition. Gradually more and more enterprises and merchants noticed the important function of advertising for promoting their product sales and directing consumption. They began to invest more into advertising. For this, we can note three significant indicators of the Chinese advertising industry from 1981 to 1991. The growth in total annual turnover, total agencies and staff were respectively 46%, 29% and 27% showing a rapid increase. In 1992, they reached 6.787billion Yuan, 167 million (agencies) and 185.4 thousand (staff). Advertising investment reached the ratio of 0.278% of the total GDP, an increase of 10.58 times. The average cost per person reached 5.79 Yuan, an increase of 47.3 times (Zhong and Wang 2004: 1).

The development of Chinese advertising started at a low rate but grew rapidly. Meanwhile, the ownership structure of advertising agencies also changed. In 1986, the first joint venture advertising company - Dian Yang Advertising Company - was founded. In 1988, privately-owned companies emerged in Guangzhou. But in the period of 1978-1985, "the Chinese advertising did not get rid of the special constraint from the Chinese political environment, it could not play a full function" (Ding 2009: 5). From the late

1980s to 1991, the Chinese advertising sector developed fast in the respect of its ideological field, opening widely to the different kinds of foreign advertisements, offering the opportunity for western enterprises to perform at the Chinese market platform (Ding 2009).

1.2.3 Phase Three – rapid development (1992-2002)

In early 1992, on an investigation tour of Southern China, Deng Xiaoping also explained the nature of the market-economy; he said to answer the question as to whether the market-economy is capitalist or socialist, “depends on whether it helps develop socialist productivity, reinforce the whole national strength and increase people’s living standard” (Deng 1993: 373). Since then in China, the issue of the capitalist or socialist nature of the Chinese market economy is no longer debated. Attention has been drawn to building a socialist market economy and encouraging the development of an economy at full scale. During this period of time, investment was one of the significant strategies to increase the economy. Other methods included government involvement with privileged financial policies and foreign funds. The Chinese advertising industry entered a rapidly expanding phase.

On 1st January 1994, planning legislation for speeding up the development of the advertising industry was issued by the State Administration for Industry and Commerce and the former State Planning Committee (Zhong and Wang 2004: 2-3). The planning legislation classified the leading ideas, principles and purposes of the Chinese advertising industry. It played an active and critical role in the increase of scale and speed of advertising development until today. The following are the three indicators of the development of Chinese advertising industry in the period of : annual turnover, the number of agencies, and staff.

The total annual turnover, total number of agencies and staff members increased respectively by 32%, 20%, 16% in 2002. They reached 90.3156 billion Yuan, 89,600 agencies and 756,000 staff members. Advertising

investment took 0.88% of GDP, which increased by 2.17 times. The average advertising cost per person went up to 70.31 Yuan, increased at 11.14 times. (Zhong and Wang 2004: 2).

Along with the popularized agency system, professional advertising companies became the main business operators of the advertising industry. The annual advertising turnover of the mass medium rose to 50.6% of the total national advertising turnover which still played the crucial role in China. Because the Chinese market experienced a process "from demand exceeds supply to supply exceeds demand" (Chen 2011: 71), the Chinese advertising industry as claimed by Ding (2009), entered "a golden time" but then "started a rational return" unavoidably (Chen 2011).

1.2.4 Phase Four – full development (2002- present)

This phase marked Chinese entry to the WTO, as Chinese economic growth complied with more international regulations. Foreign trade made a greater impact on the economic growth of China. The advertising industry entered a more mature phase. The main features of this phase are as the follows:

First, the base of turnover was enlarged; the development tended to slow down but its increase doubled what it had been before. Second, competition within the advertising market became more international and fierce. Advertising agencies continued to undertake further fine differentiations. Third, the brand names of products were the key element in the advertising campaign (Zhong and Wang 2004). Besides, the Chinese advertising turned out to be diverse in culture and fashionable elements and targeting at consumers of different classes (Chen 2011: 119).

In sum, over the past 30 years, Chinese advertising developed together with the growth of market-economy. These two parts interacted with each other and relied on each other. The growth of Chinese advertising from scratch to a small and then to a large-scale enterprise was due to the sound

environment of the market-economy. The prosperity of the market-economy benefited from the rapid development of advertising. In a sense, Chinese advertising has also become the indicator of the market economy. Of the various types of commercial advertising in China, household appliance advertising is thought to be one of the most significant sections of the industry.

1.3 Household Appliance Development and its Advertising

As said by Jiang Wei and Dai Shifu (2002), the household appliance industry, real estate and private vehicles are equally identified as the three backbones of the durable goods for consumption which plays an important role in people's daily life and has become an indispensable partner of the public. Compared with other goods, such as food, clothing, furniture and so on, the household appliances have penetrated into every corner of our life. Jiang and Dai also hold, "The development of household appliances have changed not only our life quality, but also our thinking mode and behavioral habit" (Jiang and Dai 2002: 2). It is obvious to all that the household appliance industry developed rapidly and smoothly in China, though it also underwent many changes during the past years. According to Huang Mi (2012) the Chinese household appliance industry underwent three phases of development, namely start-up, progress and maturation.

The first phase can be further divided into three stages: the first stage, 1950s – 1980; the second stage, 1980 – 1985; the third stage, 1986 – 1990. At the first stage, under the administration of the Chinese planned economic system the Chinese household appliances were backward and their technology lagged far behind the world. There was no assembly line for household appliances in China. The output of medical refrigerators was only several hundreds per year. In 1978, the Chinese government made the special policy of "encouraging to import the advanced technology and equipment". Then the National Planning Committee offered strong support

for the progress of the household appliance sector and allocated large amount of foreign funds to buying the advanced products and equipment from abroad. The rapid development in this sector owed a great deal to the government policy and financial support, including the Light Industrial Ministry and local administrative authorities (Wan 2008 cited by Liu 2008). Since the domestic technology of producing the household products at the early stage was backward, producers largely relied on the imported parts and assembly lines, the advertisements during this time would like to tell the public, "the imported Japanese parts". Then to the second stage, in the late 1980s compared with 1978 the household appliance products of various kinds increased from tens to even ten thousand times. New brands were established and their product quality and quantity were increased. In many of the advertisements after 1986, the words of "quality award from the province", "quality award from the ministry", and "quality award from the nation" could be seen (Huang 2012).

In 1990s, the second phase, the household appliance industry grew more rapidly. The enterprises carried out the reconstruction, expanded their market. Till the end of 1994, more than twenty enterprises joined with the foreign companies. Along with the formation of joint ventures, some Chinese domestic enterprises took the opportunity and set up their own brands to compete with the international household appliance companies. They imported the advanced technology and equipment to strengthen themselves. In 1993, Haier Group (one of the world's largest household appliance manufacturers founded in Qingdao, China in 1984) took the policy of globalization, put the slogans into their advertisements: "Haier. Made in China", "Let the world enjoy it." Since then Haier Group has become a symbol of nationalization of the household appliance production. In order to meet consumers' needs at various levels, mini household appliances have been sold in the market. Advertising of the products could be seen

everywhere in China.

In the third stage, the household appliance industry became more mature in the 21st century. It developed smoothly, technology was geared into international standards, different varieties of products were made, with reliable quality, stable prices, good post service and integrated with the international standards in the respects of quality, environment protection and less energy consumption. Expressions featured "Environment is greater than everything, we protect nature with innovative S&T", "Create green power", "Program the machine with intelligence, washing clothing accurately", "No matter how it is, Media air condition serves you at home" (Huang 2012).

However, in the market economy the household appliance sector became one that could gain fame and profit, hence all sectors were likely to produce household appliances, such as "the light industry, machinery sector, military enterprises, aero and space sector, weapon industry and various local county enterprises, even the overseas Chinese associations"(Wan 2008 cited by Liu 2008).

After that the fast growth of the products resulted in the market saturation and fierce competition in the market between the producers (Li Yongsheng 2012). In order to make more profit, enterprises did not only rely on the high and rapid production but also relied more heavily on the advertising. At the beginning of the early 1980s, the household appliance advertising did not draw the public attention, but one thing aroused their compelling notice. It happened in 1987:

... a repeatedly broadcast advertisement made Yan Wu radio recorder rise to fame overnight. It was said that the Radio Factory of Yancheng, Jiangsu, the advertiser invested 2 million Yuan RMB into advertising the product which was astronomical at that time. In 1987, the household appliance advertising campaign was launched. Since then for about 20

years, the Chinese household appliance advertising has taken a large proportion in every kind of advertisement, which also suggests the household appliance is one of the most dynamic products in the Chinese retail market.

(Xu 2004)

Then, the household appliance advertising became one of the important parts of the Chinese advertising industry. The fierce competition in advertising of household appliances never stopped, in November 11, 1997, the general manager Hu from Ai Duo corporation succeeded in the competitive bid for advertising the products on the China Central TV program with the cost of 210 million Yuan RMB against BBK (English version: Rising step by step) Electrics Corporation with 184 million Yuan RMB (www.people.com.cn 2013/10/4).

The fierce competition of advertising took place not only between the national household appliance enterprises, but also between the national and foreign ones, such as the Japanese enterprises of Panasonic and TOSHIBA which started as early as in 1980s in China. Jiang Dayun recalled:

At the early stage the Japanese household appliance and electric products occupied half of the Chinese market due to their powerful advertising. Till the late 1990s of the last century the advertising with the notion of “made in Japan” began to wither because of the repeated advertising campaigns launched by the Chinese enterprises. The competitors in the advertising field were not only from Japan but also from other countries, such as the Korean Samsung and LG. However, in the end the Chinese household appliance companies, such as Haier, ChangHong, Kongka, Gree and Kelon have gained their dominant positions in China and developed their business in overseas markets .

(2004)

The facts of the household appliance advertising shows that the rapid development of the Chinese household appliance industry since 1980s in a large extent attributed to the advertising campaigns which also witnessed a rapid increase in its input and output for product promotion and establishment of enterprises' images. "If you want to know the economic development history of the Chinese market you must look at the history of the Chinese household appliance development" (Hu 2011). This developing history of the Chinese household appliance shall include either its production or its advertising.

Summary

In this chapter, a brief introduction to the Chinese advertising history and its growth has been given which started chronologically from the year of 1949, then to the period of the Cultural Revolution and to the time of the Chinese economic reform, and so forth. Due to the important role of the household appliance industry in China, the final part of the introduction focused on the household appliance advertising business with some specific examples to outline its progress and the fierce competition of the household appliance domain in China.

The next chapter will provide the review on the analysis of the advertisements conducted by the overseas and Chinese scholars in the respects of their theories and offer an introduction to the critical discourse analysis and discussion on the proposition to make the analysis in the critical approach.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

Introduction

The literature review chapter offers the rationale for conducting research into the ideological values of Chinese household appliance advertising and an overview of scholarly approaches.

As advertisements have long been tackled diversely from a variety of perspectives, the overview of approaches adopted in the different texts in this chapter has to be selective. The basic linguistic approaches which this survey covers are primarily concerned with the linguistic analysis of advertising because this embeds the ideological and social orientation which is the groundwork for my thesis. Meanwhile, some approaches to advertising will be presented. Although these approaches are not directly concerned with language, they are concerned with ideological values of advertising in the sociological aspect. In making this survey, the approaches to the language of advertising and ideological values are divided into three groups. One is concerned with the nature of linguistic orientation - specifically with Chinese scholars' approaches to advertising - and includes a discussion of their approaches to discourse. The second group concerns the social orientation of language, and is mainly concerned with ideology in advertising. Similar to the second group, the third group concerns Chinese scholars' approaches to ideological values in advertising. However, this survey of approaches is not a pure description per se. It is primarily an evaluation of the theoretical and methodological notions adopted by researchers which will allow me to make a decision about the most appropriate approach including some appropriate parts of the other approaches for my research into Chinese advertising.

2.1 Brief Review of Language Studies of Chinese Advertising

The retreat of Chinese advertising during the Cultural Revolution, and its increasing presence and boom since the political and economic reforms in China in the late 1970s has aroused people's interest in different aspects of consumerism including economics, marketing, psychology, sociology, semiotics, mass media and linguistics. However, compared with the history and development of advertising in western countries which is thought to be mature, the Chinese advertising industry is rather immature due to the damaging effects of political movements in the past. Therefore, the research on advertising still requires more work and application.

As far as the study of advertising in the linguistic domain is concerned, Chinese scholars have published very few books. For instance, in the Beijing National Library one can find four volumes of the *Language of Advertising* edited by Cook (2008) which is a collection of more than 80 articles by leading scholars who have conducted their research into western advertising practices, but there are no books like these in Chinese. There are books on the language of advertising in both Chinese and English languages most of which examine linguistic forms and provide interpretation at a superficial level. But the number is limited. According to the records of the Beijing National Library, from 1992 to 2007, there are only 15 books about the language of advertising discourse written by Chinese scholars. In the four volumes of *The Language of Advertising* edited by Cook (2008), 74 books were published on the language of advertising from the 1950s to 2007. This comparison shows that the number of Chinese publications is less than that of English publications at the ratio of 1 : 3.4. Regarding the scale of research, the study of English scholars is diverse. They study advertising discourse through sociology, psychology, communicative theories, and across culture. With the emergence of the advertising industry of China since 1978 books on advertising have been published, but most of them are publications

concerning advertising in business, marketing, public relations and the mass media. A few works are about the language of advertising and these provide us mainly with descriptions of linguistic forms and functions in advertising, their work lacks the critical discourse perspective which this thesis will develop. According to the aims and contents of the works published in China, approaches to advertising language can be divided into three categories: of general description of the language of advertising, rhetorical figures of advertising, and the production of advertising. Since this trend is representative of the current state of research into the language of advertising in China, it is worth making a more detailed critical review of these approaches in the first part of this section. The following discussion on the approaches to the advertising language in China is carried out with reference to the three features mentioned: that is, the language of advertising, the rhetorical figures of advertising, and the production of advertising.

2.2. Approaches to the Language of Advertising in China

2.2.1. Description of the language of advertising

Advertising English and Expressions by Sun Xiaoli (1995) aims to present basic information about the language of advertising in both English and Chinese and to introduce the general concept of advertising, and its linguistic elements such as characteristics of grammar, function and rhetoric. 1000 commonly-used expressions in advertising are presented to show that the author attempts to be comprehensive. But if we consider the factors that influence advertisers in shaping the forms of language and its meanings, few answers are given. Secondly, the introduction of advertising often identifies the examples with one linguistic feature separate from others. For instance:

"Come into the circle. J&B are Scotch Whisky." (Whisky)

The author's interpretation is: "This advertisement is concise, offering a

sense of emotion” (Sun 1995: 118). It is obvious that this simple and general explanation lacks any analysis of either the form of the language or of its deep meaning. It tells us only what, but not how and why. This kind of interpretation and analysis of the language of advertising also occurs in other studies.

In *Chinese and Foreign Elegant Advertising Expressions – 10,000 Golden Expressions* edited by Zhang Xiuxian (1995) the author introduces 25 techniques of writing advertising headlines. A large sample of 10,000 headlines of advertising is collected, but unfortunately, the quality of their interpretation remains questionable. There is usually only one interpretation of a headline given in each case. For instance:

“Try every style.” (Clothes company)

The only interpretation for this headline is, “This is a headline of temptation.” (Zhang Xiuxian 29)

“Bite Johnson. You must be too excited.” (Cake)

This interpretation is, “This is an effective headline, but it is too much exaggerated.” (Zhang 71)

There are other cases like these in books written by Chinese scholars and they hardly satisfy the need for more information about the language of advertising by their superficial comments. Like Sun Xiaoli, Zhang Xiuxian offer only the “what” in her interpretation, not the “how” or the “why”. This kind of interpretation is merely a brief note but not an analysis.

2.2.2. Rhetorical analysis of advertising

Tactics of Rhetoric for Advertising by He Xinxiang (2003) covers the subjects of psychology, linguistics, rhetoric, aesthetics, but it discusses the ways in which the tactics of rhetoric are realized by lexical, syntactic items and style. His analysis unfolds the relationship between rhetorical devices and

meanings, because he believes that rhetorical expressions are taken as the vehicle of meaning. Meaning is the most important element in advertising and it reflects people's attitudes and thoughts (2003: 2).

He Xinxiang illustrates 50 tactics under 11 categories concerning business, emotion, cognition and language properties which constitute a system of rhetorical devices. Although his 50 tactics are extensive, they cannot be said to be exhaustive. The author should suggest that there are more strategies which are either unknown to us or which will occur with the development of people's cognition, attitude and the technology of the mass media. It is also questionable that the classification of a single expression of rhetorical tactics corresponds to a unique strategy. It is possible that one expression may involve more than one tactic simultaneously. There are also some explanations of language which need deeper analysis. In terms of dialect and slang, the author claims that "the use of slang and dialect aims to make people feel familiar with the text through having easy access to its meaning" (He 2003: 395). Such a conclusion is radically subjective. In sociolinguistic terms the function of slang and dialect is more than simply to create intimacy and a colloquial register in communicative events. Slangs and dialects are also symbols of identity and can be used to stress the quality of products. For example, if a farmer advertises a dairy product using a local dialect customers may gain a positive impression of the product's quality, that is because it is produced locally and naturally. Such a claim may be correct only under certain circumstances: consumers from other regions unfamiliar with such colloquialisms will find this advertisement meaningless, or do not make any difference between the standard language and local dialect.

Further description of rhetorical figures can be found in *Rhetoric Technique and Advertising Language* by Ni Baoyuan (2001). By contrast to He Xinxiang who adopts a notional functional approach for his description, Ni Baoyuan

outlines a variety of rhetorical techniques in the structural and functional manner. Ni discusses the value of rhetoric used in advertising and suggests methods of identifying rhetorical usage.

Ni argues that to deal with the production and understanding of rhetorical figures, requires not only skill but the knowledge of how to exploit register (mode, tenor, field), advertising tactics, creativity and market investigation, etc. The principles identified by Ni Baoyuan are helpful for all who are interested in rhetoric and advertising analysis. Although Ni mentions that for understanding and analysis of rhetorical figures one should take into account the factors mentioned above, most of his introduction is based on the structural approach to linguistic analysis.

Regarding the relationship between rhetorical devices and the language of advertising, Ni suggests that these are separate but should be connected; and that the rhetorical device is more crucial than language (Ni 2001: 7). But it can also be argued that the rhetorical figure is one object with two aspects: it is both a trope and a linguistic form. It is hard to treat these in isolation, because the meaning of rhetorical figures emerges from the interaction between trope and language forms.

Ni wants to classify rhetorical figures and separate them with clear boundaries; but to create tidy rhetorical categories may be idealistic. A single rhetoric figure might have only one meaning or function semantically, but one expression could mean different things in different situations, or conversely different rhetorical expressions can mean the same thing. Thus, contextual information has to be employed in rhetorical analysis. The focus of rhetorical devices ought to be shifted from purely identifying the boundaries of different features to their relationships and interactions between them.

2.2.3 The production of the language of advertising

Types and Production of TV Advertising Language by Liu Chun (2004) is dedicated to classifying language properties and the way that advertising language is formulated. Liu first makes an analysis of the linguistic features of advertising, identifying two ways of defining the language of advertising: a micro-view which refers to grammar, sentence and vocabulary, and a macro-view which refers to other elements besides language, such as image, sound, music, color etc.

Liu's study follows the micro-view. Therefore, she gives a detailed description of the language used in TV advertising adopting a structural approach, and showing great interest in "the forms of language and structures of advertising as a text consisting of patterns of contents, such as caption, headline (lead, main headline, subtitle), slogan, warning, main body and appendix" (2004: 6). Her examination of the language mainly remains at the descriptive level and identifies the subject, predicator, and the logical connections between sentences.

The second part of her work is on the production of the language of advertising. Liu offers insights into this issue, saying:

to make a successful advertisement one should start from the market survey and analysis of the market structure, product characteristics, competitors, supply, consumption, etc. and different phases of the product's entrance into the market which impacts on the formation and style of the language of advertising

(Liu 2004:177)

Lin Xisheng in *Production and Critical Study of Advertising Expressions* (2007) presents a similar argument but is mainly concerned with the specific principles and policies of language when it is oriented to consumers and the market-place.

Lin emphasizes the importance of morality and responsibility which also affect the style of the language of advertising. She argues that advertisers should avoid playing with empty words and thoughts in writing advertising copy and instead pay attention to the consumers' demands. That means a successful advertisement also relies on honesty, and the responsibility of the advertiser. Lin's comments reflect the general attitudes of the public who expect transparency and honesty in advertising. But in reality things are more complicated. Instead of talking about the emptiness or the transparency of language, we should think about its meaning and ask why language is sometimes used to contradict to our morality by being deceptive and evacuated of its ostensible meaning.

Both Liu and Lin illustrate advertising production, showing the relationship between language and the market-place. Their insights can be helpful for our understanding of advertising language in a broader context. Language analysis should cross the boundaries of language by linking up with other disciplines which might have some impact on the advertising language and its production. However, it is not enough to illustrate how the superficial factors that drive market demand can influence the style and use of the language of advertising. It is necessary to examine the meaning coded in the language, such as ideological, cultural conceptions.

From this discussion of approaches to the study of the language of advertising in China, we can infer that scholars in China have shown a greater interest in linguistic items in isolation than in in-depth analysis of meaning. Most of them focus on the semantic description of the language of advertising and this constitutes a weakness in the scholarly analysis.

For, although a basic linguistic knowledge of advertising may be necessary, when focusing at the superficial level, omitting any reference to the contextual components may prevent analysis of the deep meaning of the language.

However, besides the mainstream studies, there are some scholars who have adopted different approaches to the language of advertising in China, such as *Theory and Practice of Discourse Analysis: A Study in Advertising Discourse* by Huang Guowen, 2001, which takes a functional approach. In addition, there are a number of papers concerned with the changes of society reflected in the language of advertising, such as *Changes of Advertising Language and Society* by Mao Yuanfang, 2005. The weakness of such papers is that they are intuitive and general, lacking systematic study and deep analysis. There are also essays on and analysis of the adopted theories and analytical frameworks suggested by foreign scholars. That means Chinese scholars have not established their own particular approaches and they have a long way to go in this area, though adoption of foreign theories indicates the openness and active attitude of the Chinese scholars towards new views and theories.

We have to admit that borrowing new theories can lead to advantages for Chinese scholars in analyzing the discourse of advertising, e.g. Huang Guowen's employment of Halliday's functional grammar for his analysis on advertisements quite early in China. He is well-known in this respect. In order to have a better understanding of Chinese advertising discourse we need to undertake the analysis in a critical manner, but most of the Chinese scholars are likely to rely on pure linguistic description of the language of advertising. In recent years along with the opening of China to the outside world in the respect of economy, culture and ideology, some Chinese researchers have started to pay attention to the ideological values and changes in the Chinese advertisements. There are also articles published recently by Chinese scholars who examine Chinese advertisements through an ideological approach and explore ideology embedded in advertisements. For instance, *Advertising and Ideology* by Ye Qing (Journal of Xiaogan University 2008); *The Double Metaphor in the Age of Consumerism* –

Ideological analysis of advertisements on female fashion magazines by Shang Xiangyu (Journal of Jishou University 2007); *Ideology in Advertising* by Yang Jinglan (Modern Transmission 2002).

These articles offer a general description of the concept of ideology and help readers and scholars open their mind about the ideological meaning and power of advertising. However, what we need more is also the detailed examination of advertisements through a time span of several decades, the linguistic or discursive evidence of the presence of ideology and its mechanism in the process of advertising. It is optimistic to see that Liu Hong (2006), and some Chinese scholars have conducted intensive and systematical research into the Chinese advertisements at the ideological level, such as Li Xingyuan (2009), Zhao Jinjing (2012), Lin Shengliang (2012) Chen Subai (2012) and so forth. Their approaches to advertising will be introduced in some detail in the following section of approaches to ideology in advertising.

We should remember the point made by Cook (2001: 3), "Although the main focus of discourse analysis is on language, it is not concerned with language alone" and examine the texts in a wider social context rather than in isolation. For this, while treating advertising as discourse, we should notice that advertising is immersed in ongoing social activities. It is an instrument by which to influence the consumer's consciousness as well as an ideological form of communication. Ideology, for deeper understanding of advertising, can be seen as one of the important aspects. Therefore, in the following sections of the chapter, my discussion will be focused on the basic concepts of ideology, its relationship with advertising, and approaches to ideology in advertising and critical discourse analysis which are related to my research.

2.3 Notions of Ideology

2.3.1 Karl Marx's concept of ideology

The current usage of the term "Ideology" was originally proposed by Karl Marx which can be found in *The German Ideology* (Marx and Engels, 1962). His concept of ideology is one of the most influential notions in the field of philosophy and political domain. According to Marx, "Ideology" refers to a system of ideas through which people understand their world (Danial 2014).

"Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life" (Marx and Engels, 1962). In the critique of the idealism of Hegelianism, Marx and Engels intend to claim that all human consciousness (ideology) is rooted in material conditions, and can be changed only by transforming these conditions (Terry 1996:23). Marx's assertion regards ideology as dependent on material circumstances in which people live in their daily life being engaged in social and economic activities. These material conditions determine the human consciousness and form their system and framework of ideas through which they can understand the world and their positions in the world.

In addition to the material conditions, ideology is also determined by the class relations of production. "Ideology, according to the epiphenomenal conception, is a system of ideas which expresses the interests of the dominant class but which represents relations in an illusory form" (Thompson 1990: 37). Ideology in this sense means the ruling class or dominant social groups attempt to maintain their ruling position and achieve control of subordinate classes, they articulate their theories of economics and society which misrepresent the actual class relations but in favour of the interests of a minority. The notion of "false consciousness" is derived from the misrepresentation of class relations.

Through his criticism of "false consciousness", Marx unmasked the hidden

nature of capitalism by condemning ideology as an illusion to cover capitalist exploitation. "In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation" (Marx and Engels, 1962: 36). His criticism of false consciousness (i.e. ideology), expresses his strong opposition towards capitalism and his adversaries. This led to the pejorative use of ideology.

2.3.2 Antonio Gramsci's concept of ideology

Gramsci, in his definition of ideology, maintains:

Indeed the meaning which the term "ideology" has assumed in Marxist philosophy implicitly contains a negative value judgment and excludes the possibility that for its founders the origin of ideas should be sought for in sensations, and therefore, in the last analysis, in physiology. "Ideology" itself must be analyzed historically, in the terms of the philosophy of praxis, as a superstructure.

(2007: 376)

Apparently, Gramsci does not hold the same view for the notion of Marx's ideology as "false consciousness". Although Gramsci cannot be regarded as the original advocate, being one of the great Western Marxists, he raised the notion of "hegemony". Based on the functional perspective of ideology, the term hegemony means ideological domination (Heywood 2007: 7) and cultural domination of the bourgeoisie over the rest of the society (Blommaert 2005: 166). According to Gramsci, ideology is valid, necessary and a superstructure for the dominant class to secure their exercise of political leadership and control of the subordinate classes, because this kind of rule is based on "the 'active consent' of the subordinate classes and to integrate the various factions of the dominant class into a relatively stable power bloc" (Thompson 1990: 94).

It is notable that hegemony can play an equally effective role in the system

of state apparatuses but in practice, hegemony when overstated will not always work well. Hegemony should be seen as flexible and dynamic in terms of degree. Therefore, to some extent Gramsci's notion of ideology is rather theoretical and optimistic. Nevertheless the existence and role of hegemony cannot be denied and overlooked in the critical discourse analysis.

2.3.3 Louis Althusser's concept of ideology

Louis Althusser, the leading Marxist philosopher of his day, incorporated some aspects of Gramsci's concept of hegemony into a strikingly novel theoretical synthesis, which along with Gramsci drew heavily on structuralism and psychoanalysis (Terry 1994: 14, 87). As for Althusser, he elaborated the concept of ideology in his influential essay on "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in *Lenin and Philosophy* (1971 Althusser). His work provides us with remarkable insights into the forms and functions of ideology. Althusser describes his conception of ideology in a neutral, and ontological way and insists that ideology cannot be taken as a spiritual and ideal existence, but is material, that is, "Ideologies are not pure illusions, but bodies of representations existing in institutions and practice" (Althusser 1976: 155 cited by Resch 1992: 206). He believed that ideology is neither necessarily seen as true or false, but is a matter of the real and an "imaginary", "lived" relation between men and their world. (Althusser 1969: 232-233 cited by Resch 1992: 206). For this, Althusser adds:

All the State Apparatuses function both by repression and by ideology, with the difference that the (Repressive) State Apparatuses function massively and predominantly by repression, whereas the Ideological State Apparatuses function massively and predominantly by ideology.

(1971 cited by Resch 1992: 214)

From his point of view, ideology has an epistemological status and also a

material existence to serve as an apparatus for social relations to be formed and developed through the forms of force and a system of beliefs and ideas. These two kinds of apparatuses: the State Apparatuses (SA) and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA), both consist of material existence or reality and spiritual existence or ideas, which are not opposed but combined into one body. In this sense, "ideas are real and not 'ideal' because they are always inscribed in social practices and expressed in objective social forms" (languages, rituals, etc.) (Terry 1994: 116). In Althusser's statement about ideology we can find the materiality of ideology.

Another important assertion Althusser made about ideology is the concept of imaginary relations: "Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (Althusser 1971: 162). As Terry explains (1994: 120) what ideology represents is men's lived relation to their conditions of existence. This lived relation is, Althusser insists, an "imaginary" relation. The imaginary can be regarded as a kind of state in which one establishes his relation to the absent world and makes it present. Therefore, the imaginary relationship between the person and the world is both absent and present. To make it easier for understanding, we can borrow the notion mentioned by Terry (1994: 121) "as if". Someone thinks he is living in the realm of 'as if' (imaginary), and becomes a part of it, so this imaginary relation exists. It can be a matter or an idea, it can be true or false. "In living 'as if', subjects do not live in illusion, this 'as if' is the reality of their existence as subjects" (Terry 1994: 121).

Althusser's assertions about ideology have made a contribution to the theoretical basis of critical discourse analysis (CDA) which "provides theories and methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse and social and cultural developments in different social domains" (Jorgensen and Phillips 2008: 60). His theory of ideology, especially the notion of 'imaginary relation' has it gives insight into the way why

advertising discourse always depicts the world in fantasy. Advertisers want to affect viewers' minds, by leading them into an "as if" (imaginary) realm to believe what they are being offered is the best. We cannot simply define this state as a "false consciousness", but as a hegemonic strategy to lead the consumers to dream about fantasy and to articulate a present world

2.3.4 The ideology of John B. Thompson

Based on the critical analysis of ideological theory from Marx, and Mannheim, to Horkheimer, Adorno and Habermas, Professor Thompson claims (2007: 10) that ideology is an integral part of this struggle; it is a creative and constitutive feature of a social life which is sustained and reproduced, contested and transformed, through actions and interactions which include the ongoing exchange of symbolic forms. Ideology is necessary for establishing and sustaining relations of power in the social life. It is a branch under the broad concept of struggles which aim at sustaining social relations and take place through words and symbols even through the use of physical force. Thompson views "struggle" in a wider perspective and a more neutral manner than in Marx's concept of class struggle.

2.3.5 Norman Fairclough's perspective on ideology

If we say that social practice is one of the most important dimensions in Fairclough's critical approach to discourse, then ideology can be thought of as the core of this dimension. Ideology exists in social practice and makes a contribution to creating and sustaining (unequal) relations of power between social groups. For Fairclough, ideology is invested in discourse "to be significations/constructions of reality [...] which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination" (Fairclough 2006: 87). In order to make sense of any text people draw on features of their own ideological positions, which Fairclough calls "members' resources (MR)", hence ideological values are implicit in

(and reproduced by) the circulation of texts such as advertisements. Being unstated, these features appear to be common sense.

Acknowledging notions of ideology proposed by a group of influential philosophers and sociologists (e.g. as already outlined, Althusser, Gramsci and Thompson) Fairclough (2006) formulates his three claims of ideology in discourse:

- 1) discourse is the form of ideology;
- 2) ideology effects subjects through discourse;
- 3) ideology effects not only relation of people but the orders of discourse.

Regarding the notion of ideology, Fairclough's claims are not strikingly different to those of other philosophers and sociologists. But a significant difference is that he is not the interpreter of theoretical notions of ideology but a practitioner combining the theory with reality in order to examine the relationship between language and ideology as well as that between social and cultural change: these are considered two major aspects of CDA, but do not want to suggest that pure description and interpretation of ideology are less important. If they only remain at the theoretical level this is not helpful for discourse analysts. Fairclough's contribution is that besides his theoretical interpretation of ideology, he offers an approach to practical analysis. This can be seen from his studies, *Language and Power* (1994) and *Discourse and Social Change* (2006).

In sum, sociologists, politicians and linguists understand and define ideology from a variety of perspectives. The most important thing is not the various definitions of the term, "ideology", but the accounts of its attributes, effects, production and shifts at different layers and phases of social development. Nevertheless the different perspectives upon ideology can offer us particular ideological framings for exploring meanings of discourse. In addition,

Fairclough's interpretation of ideology contains an acceptable definition which includes "common-sense" and "word meanings" for ideology that exists in different forms, at different levels and which is invested in different degrees in discourse. Fairclough's interest is not in the purely theoretical argument on ideology but in its events and processes.

2.4 Mainstream Ideology in China

2.4.1 The traditional Chinese ideology

In terms of the history of civilization over the last 5,000 years, China has shown itself to be full of doctrines, which have either developed into ideologies or have vanished. The doctrines of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism still affect peoples' thinking, worldview and behaviour. However, these three ideologies cannot be considered as the most influential in China today. Since the Opium War (1840-1842), China has been invaded by other countries, and suffered government bankruptcy, economic poverty, and social turbulence. Under these insecure circumstances, an "ideology of risk" was formulated which had the function of "reflecting reality, clarifying situations and directions, motivating society and starting action" (Ji 2005: 16).

2.4.2 Ideology of modern Chinese society (1919-)

Upon entering modern society, China introduced western theories of science and evolution. These were more powerful than the traditional Chinese doctrines of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism in developing the country's economy and human understanding of the world and solving social problems and natural disasters. The critical functions of these doctrines were accepted by the Chinese culture and formulated into ideologies in China.

However, the most favorable and influential doctrine in modern Chinese history was Marxism, because it met the practical needs of the Chinese

political organization - the Chinese Communist Party - and helped the Party to solve problems in the Chinese revolutionary movement. The communist ideology also offered the Chinese political organization a theoretical foundation and the Chinese people spiritual support against imperialism, feudalism and capitalism. In addition, the victory of the Soviet Revolution of 1918 strengthened the Chinese people's belief in Marxism and the doctrine of class struggle.

Having taken its basic elements from Marxism, Leninism and ideas developed in the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party, over the four decades of its history, has made its ideology into a systematic set of ideas which it has used to create its own organization and to achieve its goals.

(Schurmann 1968: 19)

During the period from 1949 to 1978, before China's reform, The Communist Party, the largest powerful political organization in China, took Marxism and Leninism as the theoretical foundation for its principles, and Mao's thoughts as the practical guidance for its movements and the people's thoughts. Party members should regard all kinds of social, political, economic and mental problems basically as phenomena of the class struggle between capitalism and socialism. Such an ideology was one of the main factors causing the Political Movement in 1957 against the intellectuals who dared to criticize the policies of the Communist Party and the Cultural Revolution in China, for their failure to solve the problems of social relationships, the economy and people's world-values.

2.4.3 Chinese ideology after 1978

Since October 1976 and particularly since the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee held in 1978, China has returned to the path of healthy development. "Good progress has been made in the reform

of our economic structure and mechanisms” said by Deng Xiaoping in 1980 (Deng’s selected works 1995: 357). Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, China started its reform and open door policy aiming to construct China into a rich and modernized country. At that time Deng Xiaoping held (1982):

Accordingly, in building socialism we must do all we can to develop the productive forces and gradually eliminate poverty. Constantly raising the people’s living standards. Otherwise, how will socialism be able to triumph over capitalism?

(Deng’s collected works 1994: 21)

Based on Deng’s doctrine, the Chinese government and the Communist Party followed a market economy to develop China into a harmonious and wealthy country. This has replaced the traditional class-oriented ideology. Chinese people were encouraged to open up their minds, to concentrate on economic construction and national modernization. Deng’s ideology, unlike Mao’s and Marx’s, can be defined as neutral, aimed at developing the Chinese economy rather than perpetuating the class struggle between capitalism and socialism. The achievements during the past 30 years have proved that the newly-introduced ideology after social and economic reform in China is practical and accepted by the Chinese people.

As I propose to conduct this research into the ideology of Chinese advertisements, I will, in addition to the mainstream ideology in China, discuss the issues concerning ideological phenomena in advertising and approaches to ideology in advertising.

2.4.4 Political situation in China before and after 1978

As stated by Cheek (2006: 27): “China is a socialist state, led by a one party Leninist regime that still claims Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought as its ideology.” Here I should explain that in the realm of ideology and in the

Chinese people's mind there was only one unique political theory and one correct thought: these were known as Mao Zedong thought. Mao Zedong was the chief leader of the Chinese Communist Party, the People's Army and the People's Republic of China after 1949, and the founding of New China. Therefore, it is believed that Mao's thought is the truth without any doubt. Even after 1976 when Mao Zedong passed away, some leading members of the Central Party Committee called on the whole country to believe that whatever Chairman Mao said was the truth and should be implemented in the practice of one's work and everyday life. The conception of "class struggle" was still emphasized as the guiding principle of the majority of the entire national workforce.

The concept of "class struggle" was adopted by the Chinese Communist Party from Marx's doctrine. Another political word as popular as "class struggle" was "revolution". Through 1949 – 1976 when Mao was in power these two terms reached their apogee.

During this period there were a series of events which caused the Chinese economy to its weakest point. Firstly, around 1957, the Anti-Rightist Movement was launched to denounce and punish those intellectuals of China who made suggestions or expressed disagreements with the Party.

Then, in 1958, an economic development movement, the Great Leap Forward, was carried out to launch China into the era of modern socialism from feudalism across capitalism: this resulted in a large waste of time, labour and material. Later, in the 1960s Mao Zedong declared, "Never forget the class struggle." In 1966 he declared, "It is right to rebel" and started his last campaign, the Cultural Revolution which caused the biggest disaster in many aspects in China since 1949. In the later stages of the Cultural Revolution, the Gang of Four (a leftist political faction composed of four Chinese Communist Party officials: Jiang Qing, who was Mao's wife, Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyan) controlled the power organs

in the Communist Party Committee. They were blamed for the worst excesses of chaos. In those days, the Chinese economy and ideological realm were deeply affected by these political movements and suffered greatly until the death of Mao Zedong in 1976. The arrest of the Gang of Four after Mao's death marked the end of the chaos in this period of turmoil in China. There is no doubt that no commercial activities and advertising could survive, because they were thought to be counter to socialism.

The policy introduced by the then Communist Party of China, Chairman Hua Guofeng, Mao's successor, was simplified as "The Two Whatevers" referring to the statement that: "We will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave" (*People's Daily* 7 February, 1977). This policy proved unpopular with the general public who wanted to end the influence of the Cultural Revolution and start economic reform. In May 1978, a nationwide debate on the "truth criterion" was launched by the Communist Party. Most of the Chinese Communist Party members and Chinese people started to accept the doctrine that "Everything should be done and considered according to reality. Link theory with practice, see truth from facts, try and develop truth in practice" (Chinese Communist Party Regulations 1982: 15). This doctrine was then put into the Regulations of the Chinese Communist Party and identified as the ideological principle which has not been changed today. The establishment of the ideological principle was a landmark indicating the criticism of dogmatism and the amendment of traditional "class-struggle" doctrines and "left thinking" (Deng 1994). People would find a new way of thinking. They started to think the opposite to examine socialism using a practical criterion with individual choice. Deng Xiaoping, (the Party leader after Mao Zedong 1979-1997) criticized, "That was a serious mistake, and we suffered because of it (i.e. left thinking)" (1994: 140) and he also emphasized:

One of our shortcomings after the founding of the People's Republic was that we didn't pay enough attention to developing the productive forces. Socialism means eliminating poverty. Pauperism is not socialism, still less communism. [...] Our political line is to focus on the modernization program and on continued development of the productive forces.

(1994: 73)

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee held in December 1978 denied the principle of taking the "class struggle" as the central doctrine for all the work and life in China and decided to concentrate the Party's and the country's work on the construction of modern China through firmly insisting on the open-door policy and economic reform.

"Since October 1976 and particularly since the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee held in 1978, China has returned to the path of healthy development" (Deng 1981: Preface). Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, China started its reform and the "open door" policy aiming to construct China into a wealthier and modernized country. At that time Deng Xiaoping's famous quotation of about white or black cats was popularly shared among the public, "I don't care if it's a yellow cat (later 'white cat' was popularly used) or a black cat. It's a good cat as long as it catches mice", uttered by Deng Xiaoping at the meeting of General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, 1962 (Deng 1994: 323). Deng Xiaoping on his investigation tour to Southern China emphasized:

the planned economy is not only for socialism but also capitalism needs planned economy, while similarly market economy is not only for capitalism but also socialism needs market and follows the plan of market which shall be taken as economic measure.

(Deng 1993: 373)

Deng's purpose is to let the people take development in the priority, which is more important than to elaborate whether China follows a socialist or capitalist ideology.

Based on this value, the Chinese government and communist party began to pursue the market economy to develop China into a harmonious and wealthy country. This has replaced the traditional class-oriented ideology which was shown above to be disastrous in the history of Chinese society after 1949. Since 1978, Chinese people have been encouraged to open their minds, focus on economic construction and national modernization. Deng's ideology is not like Mao's, his doctrine should be defined as neutral, pragmatic aiming at developing Chinese economy rather than class struggle between capitalism and socialism. Deng Xiaoping favoured a harmonious environment rather than a society of antagonism. In order to sustain the increase of people's living standard, he also regarded himself as a follower of Marxism but did not enjoy endless debate on whether the Chinese should take the route of capitalism or socialism.

Therefore, it is common to hear and read the phrase "the socialism with Chinese characteristics" from the Chinese official articles and documents of the Party, (e.g. in the Chinese Communist Party Regulations) meaning that constructing a market-oriented economy which contains socialist characteristics is the central task for China. This doctrine reflects that "The Chinese Communist Party upholds the general theory of Marxism and joins it with the Chinese specific practice for implementing its socialist revolution and construction" (Zhao Zhikui 2012: 161).

Apart from the mainstream Chinese ideologies centered by Marxism and Socialism mentioned above, there are other kinds of basic ideologies as acclaimed by Zhu Zhaozhong (2012: 86), such as "Work is glorious. Mutual wealth, social harmony, liberating and developing productivity, illuminating the social polarization, realizing social justice; building the wealthy,

democratic, civilized and socialist modernized country.” These basic ideologies can be considered to be the common sense remaining in the Chinese people’s value system. They are also used by the producers and advertisers in the Chinese advertisements.

The achievements during the past 30 years have proved that the newly introduced ideology after the economic reform in China is practical and has been accepted by Chinese people. This offered the opportunity for a Chinese market economy and also led to the emergence and growth of Chinese advertising.

2.5 Ideology Perpetuated in Advertising

Advertising is ideological. Advertisements reflect and mould our life and thoughts, Judith Williamson maintains:

Obviously it (advertising) has a function, which is to sell things to us. But it has another function, when I believe in many ways replaces that traditionally fulfilled by art or religion. It creates structures of meaning. Here the “meaning” stands for “ideology”.

(2005: 11)

Besides the function of selling commodities, advertisements also transmit ideological meanings, either in an implicit or explicit manner. For example, a headline in an advertisement says, “Your choice for every occasion” (Williamson 2005). There is no doubt that this expression aims to promote the sale of the product, but the possessive pronoun “Your” (“Your” can be understood as a single pronoun or a plural pronoun. Being plural, “Your” stands for separate individuals) and “every” is used to create the concept of individualism. That is, no-one can make the choice for you except yourself and there is no obligation and limitation upon the choice you make. You (singular or plural), the consumer/s are free to do it at every occasion.

From this example given by Williamson, we see that advertisements have

more functions than plainly just to sell material commodities; rather they also transform a sort of commodity into an ideologically acceptable concept which can be appreciated as such before it can be bought.

Andrew Wernick (1991) suggests that ideology embedded in advertisements shifts along with social developments. In the early 1900s when the assembly line was introduced, the advertising industry was thought by Stuart B. Ewen (1976) (quoted by Wernick 1991: 24) to be relevant to this development and to the boom in the production of consumer durables. Advertising then had the function of encouraging people to become customers through maintaining an effective demand and managing their consciousness. This is considered as ideological hegemony.

The primary purpose of creating ideological hegemony in advertising is to sell goods and make a profit through persuading undecided customers to demand their products and services. This is in contrast to the purpose of the institutions of religion, education and politics. In this sense, the ideology of advertising plays an instrumental function which "leads advertising to engage with the values, norms, goods and dreams of those to whom it is addressed" (Wernick 1991: 26).

Ideology perpetuated in advertisements aims to set up an interaction between producers and customers and to encourage the sale of goods: this is seen as the meaning of the ideology of advertising in a general sense. But in the specific and concrete sense advertisements can be seen as ideological because they are vehicles transmitting message of commodity; linking consumers' wants and desire to the product; influencing the audiences' consciousness and world values as well as making commodities symbolize social and cultural significance.

2.6 Comprehension of Ideology in Advertising

Although an explanation about ideology and its existence in advertisements

has been provided, questions as to why and how advertisements are understood by readers who are unable to talk to advertisers face to face need to be asked.

Gillian Dyer (1993: 123) suggests that advertising, like language, is a system consisting of distinct signs by which the ideological meaning is understood. This kind of sign is called a symbol: e.g. a rose can be a symbol of love. The colour red symbolizes luck and happiness in Chinese culture. Forestry means nature, mountains mean longevity. Symbolization is another linking process between signifier and signified.

According to Vestergaard and Schroder (1985), denotation and connotation are two levels of analysis to be used for advertising analysis. The former refers to the literal meaning and the latter to meanings beyond the literal or ideological. For explanatory purposes they are likely to be separated, but in analysis connotation is conducted on the plane of denotation so they are not in isolation. If we take the properties of rose, forestry and mountain in the frame of denotation and connotation they mean (see Table 2.1):

Table 2.1 Frame of denotation and connotation

Property	Denotation	Connotation
Rose	Flower	Love
Forestry	Plantation	Nature
Mountain	Landscape	Longevity
Red	Color	Luck/happiness

Dyer maintains:

Ads as a means of representation and meaning construct ideology within themselves through the intervention of external codes which are located in society. The advertisements will use image, notions, concepts, myths,

etc. already available in the culture. An advertisement does not simply reflect ideology: it reworks it, thus producing new meanings [...] its connotational process depends on our knowledge of the forms of ideology that advertisements employ.

(1993: 129)

For this, we can refer to Guy Cook's statement (2001: 178), "In fact, any text must make assumptions about the knowledge of its reader". That is, the advertisers formulate a number of things and views related to the commodity, known to the general public.

Participants in an advertising discourse (producers and readers) can understand each other by means of shared knowledge and information which "constitute the shared ideology of the participants" (Althusser 1971: 136 cited by Cook 2001: 179). Even if there is something omitted in the advertising discourse, people are still able to figure out its meaning. Therefore, the ideological meanings of advertisements are not always stated explicitly but readers and consumers are expected to expose and grasp such meanings. Generally speaking, the receivers of advertising should be able to use their cultural and social knowledge and coherent assumptions to spell out what is unspoken and omitted from advertisements.

It is evident that advertisements contain ideological elements at different layers, either in words or images, although the ideology embedded and produced in them is not equally as serious as that of education, religion and political institutions.

2.7 Approaches to Ideology in Advertising

This section is organized around the introduction and review of some approaches taken by the scholars to ideology in advertising. In the final part, I focus on Fairclough's critical discourse analysis in the respect of his research principles and methodology. The primary aim of this section is to

lay a ground for building a theoretical framework for my research into Chinese advertising. I also propose to take advantage of the strengths of these different approaches in combination with the main methodological framework of CDA which will be discussed later in the chapter of research methodology.

The Approach of Geoffrey Leech

In the domain of advertising discourse analysis, the first approach to be mentioned is that of Geoffrey Leech and his work: *The English of Advertising* (1966), which is acclaimed by Guy Cook (2008:1), as "one of the most influential works on advertising language." Leech offers basic knowledge about the traditional linguistic approach to advertising discourse upon which more recent approaches have been built.

Leech provides a detailed introduction to the commercial language used in advertising which covers various levels of linguistic features, from simple to complex, such as grammar, morphemes, lexis, phonology, groups of words, sentences, styles and contexts which show the relationship between language and the world at large. Significant is the fact that Leech focuses on linguistic features of advertising without limiting himself within the domain of pure linguistic description; rather his interest expands to accommodate a sociological viewpoint, showing the connection between language, its setting and its function.

Leech undertakes a thorough description of linguistic features in English advertising, constructing a framework for linguistic description called the advertising situation. This consists of four elements - participants, relevant object, medium, purpose - and he also makes available some findings yielded by this framework.

Unfortunately his research is limited by Leech's focus on description which remains at the level of "What" and "How" about the language forms, but

lacks "Why"; that is, the reasons for the use of the language in a particular form. According to critical linguistics: "Discourse is socially constructive, constituting social subjects, social relations, and systems of knowledge and belief, and the study of discourse focuses upon its constructive ideological effects" (Fairclough, 2006: 36). Leech's work should have examined the relations between advertisers and consumers, and shown some ideological processes and functions of the language, and their affects on meaning. Therefore, his point of view on advertising language does not enable any insights into advertising at a deep level, for he has not touched the ideological properties of advertising in his work.

Judith Williamson's Approach

Decoding Advertisements – Ideology and Meaning in Advertising (Williamson 1978, 2005) is "a widely read and generally appreciated analysis of meaning in advertisements" (Barr 1994: 4). As Cook (2001: 67) remarks, "The popular phrase ***Decoding Advertisements*** was first used by Judith Williamson as the title of a book published in 1978, and it has been echoed widely in courses and publications ever since."

Williamson offers a detailed explanation of ideology in advertisements. While exposing negative parts of advertisements such as dishonesty and exploitation, she aims to help the advertising audience in discerning that ideological meanings exist in the commercial content. Williamson provides some fresh ideas as well as skills for improving our perception of advertisements. She argues (2005: 17): "We can only understand what advertisements mean by finding out how they mean, and analyzing the way in which they work." Advertisements contain two functions: the overt economic function which makes us want to buy things; and the ideological function that makes us feel like "individuals in perpetuating the ideas which endorse the very economic basis of our society" (Williamson 2005). For instance, Williamson takes an advertisement of a car (2005: 53) to illustrate

the concept of individuality and uniqueness. This ad tells a group of people that they will be unusual if they buy a Fiat car. The headline is: "There's an awful lot of sheep on the roads these days." Therefore, the purchase of a car can make you stand out as different from the multitude.

Williamson assumes that readers of advertisements fail to see the issue, so she enthusiastically encourages the audience's reading skills for decoding ads through over 100 illustrations attached to detailed explanations:

The information that we are given is frequently untrue, and even when it is true we are often being persuaded to buy products which are unnecessary; [...] A criticism of advertising on these grounds is valid, and I would support it. However, such a criticism is in many ways the greatest obstacle of all to a true understanding of the role of advertisements in our society, because it is based on the assumption that ads are merely the invisible conveyors of certain undesirable messages, and only sees meaning in the overt "content" of the ad rather than its 'form' – in other words, ignoring the "content" of the "form".

(Williamson 2005: 17)

Williamson's assertion aims to correct our stereotyped or sometimes false perceptions of advertisements. While recognizing the inherent backwards of advertisements (i.e. to create illusion), we must be aware that there is a gap between the meaning of an advertisement and the audience's perception. People only decode advertisements from their surface form and content. They should learn to see advertisements differently.

One of her examples is the advertisement, (2005: 133) with cows and their dairy product, butter, together in a field, framed with plants. While Williamson (2005) says, "No attempt is made to be realistic, 'natural' in the actual representation", she interprets this as displaying something deeper through "surrealistic pictures". With this interpretation in the framework of

surrealism (also called "a referent system"), such advertisements can be seen as emanating from the positive qualities of nature, science and culture, all of which are connected within a natural order.

Semiotics has been employed by academic writers on analytic approaches to advertisements, an approach which is also noticeable in Williamson's work. Williamson essentially seeks to unveil through analysis what she calls the "real" meaning of the words and images of an ad (Cook 1996: 67). For this, she illustrates "A2 Color tells a story" (Williamson 2005: 21), another example of a semiotic interpretation of the visual image rather than words. Williamson's visual-centered analysis is dominant and she has little interest in the whole system of advertising which is emphasized by other advertising analysts, such as Guy Cook whose book titled *The Discourse of Advertising* (1996) is distinguished by its broad handling of advertisements.

But in some respects, because advertisements consist of images, words and structures, a linguistic analysis can back up the finding of semiotic analysis. Ideology not only exists in images and words, but also in structures. The "real" meaning of advertisements derives from all the components in their different layers. In an advertisement both words and images are major components reliant upon each other. One dominant method of semiotic analysis cannot fulfill the task.

However, as mentioned in the blurb of *Decoding Advertisements* (Williamson 2005), Williamson "provides not an 'answer', but a 'set of tools' which we can use to alter our own perceptions of one of society's subtlest and most complex forms of propaganda." There is no doubt that Judith Williamson provides a valuable starting point for analysis of advertisements concerning ideology. Therefore, her claims and methodology although often criticized, are nevertheless often quoted.

Gillian Dyer's approach

In 1980s another scholar, Gillian Dyer, in *Advertising as Communication* (1988), also provided some basic concepts, ideas and examples for research into advertising. However, all the work revolves around the core concept of communication, and advertising is taken to be a form of communication between participants like producers, advertisers, readers and consumers. For this, their communication is examined in a broader cultural and economic context. In addition to a chronological survey on advertising from history to modern society and some suggestions of basic solutions to interpreting advertisements, Dyer's intention is virtually to provide "enough groundwork for readers to pursue some of the issues raised in more depth and decode one of the most ubiquitous and tenacious forms of communication and ideology in society" (Dyer 1993).

Therefore, while identifying ideology in advertisements and the way in which ideological meanings perpetuated by advertising are decoded, Dyer also provides a clear interpretation of the basic terms of advertising and their relations, such as signs and signifiers, langue and parole, denotation and connotation. By illustrating some samples of advertising, Dyer concludes (116) that texts result from the dynamic interplay of various internal semiotic, aesthetic, social and ideological processes which also operate externally in the culture. One of the crucial factors in exploring the meaning of advertisements is the quality of the receiver or reader, including his or her personal knowledge, social position and ideological perspective as well as the depth of involvement in reproduction of the meaning of advertisement.

It is obvious that decoding advertisements consists of a dynamic interplay of internal components (e.g. language, image, products, price, quality, discourse structure) and external communication between readers and advertisers (Dyer 1993). For decoding advertisements, Dyer also recommends various approaches, one of which is called iconographic analysis. This notion comes from the art critic Panofsky (1970 cited by Dyer

1993) who studied the iconography of paintings and suggested three levels of meaning in an image. Dyer designed an approach according to this, "By unpeeling the first and second you can get at the third" (Dyer 1993: 93). In her view, level one is the denotative, level two the connotative and level three the ideological. Her approach might be of some help to our decoding of advertising in a critical way. What she offers can be taken as general principles, but what is really needed as well are more concrete procedures and mechanism to identify how these three levels interact with each other. Dyer conducts a historical survey on the development of advertising from the 15th century to the late 20th century, offering a general view of the advertising industry of western culture. Dyer's survey and discussion help us to see that the changes in advertising not only occurred in the surface style and content, but also in the deeper meaning and ideological function.

Torben Vestergaard and Kim Schroder's approach

While analyzing advertising language from a sociolinguistic perspective, the focus of Vestergaard and Schroder is not limited to linguistic forms of print advertisements, but concerns the content of the discourse level, such as the structure of advertisements and the functions (e.g. the poetic function, the informational function, and directive function) which the organization of contents reflects. The most significant part of their work (*The Language of Advertising* 1985) is the elaboration of the ideological mechanisms which are exploited in advertisements. The following expressions demonstrate how the notion of "nature" is connected to the product in advertising:

- (I) Product ingredients are natural, (e.g. shampoo);
- (II) The product improves on nature;
- (III) The processes of nature can be reversed;
- (IV) There is a connection between the product and nature where

none actually exists (e.g. automobiles).

(Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985 cited by 2006: 26)

Their attention is directed to the social issues and popular beliefs. They claimed (2006: 29) that advertising does not try to tell us that we need products as such, but rather that the products can help us obtain something else which we do feel that we need.

They also maintain (Martin 2006) that an advertisement can gain credibility through the claim that its product is compatible with generally recognized goals. The need to save energy, to fight the switch from non-renewable to renewable resources are recent examples of such goals, and particularly in the US, these goals are now making their way into advertising.

Vestergaard and Schroder's work is criticized by Fan Yagang (1996:14) who argues that the process of interpreting those messages is pragmatic, and it therefore needs a consideration of both individual situations in advertising and the social ideology. However, their interpretation also implies that they have not provided a systematic framework for the analysis of the social values concealed in advertising. Their method used for analyzing advertisements is basically a case study of selected examples without a highly-structured study and without a theoretical framework to which the advertising discourse analysis may refer.

Robert Goldman's approach

Robert Goldman's *Reading Ads Socially* (2002), is in part an extension of Williamson's work, showing how analysis of advertisements can help us understand the commodity system. As evaluated by Myers (1994: 11): "The theory may be difficult, but the examples are clear and well presented." Goldman's textual analyses of advertisements intend to make people understand, "Advertising is a key social and economic institution in producing and reproducing the material and ideological supremacy of

commodity relations" (1994:2). From his point of view, a society is "fundamentally structured by commodity relations" and advertisements offer not only information of commodities but also reflect social relations and produce ideological values. To promote commodities, advertisers must join the two meaning components, one a named product and the other ideological concepts. Goldman (1994: 61) exemplifies the relation between commodity and ideology with the cigarette advertising "The Marlboro Man" which links "the meanings of commodity-object (cigarettes) to meaningfully arranged images symbolizing glamour, sophistication, popularity or rugged individuality." From this, we can be impressed by the quality of the commodity and the deep ideological structure in the "key social and economic institution" (Goldman 1994: 61). As for McDonald's story about family, Goldman claims that corporations also seek popular legitimacy by joining cherished values and social relations to their corporate images. (1994:85) The advertisement is intended to offer the public a set of ideal social images. It imposes the value of family integrity and stability in its advertising via illustrations (photos) and captions (lyrics, singing voice).

In most parts of his book Goldman gives a detailed description and interpretation through his approach (e.g. contemplating frame, layout and mortise) to advertisements, revealing deep ideological meanings in them such as freedom, democracy, feminism, power. But these analyses appear to be more relevant to traditional and normal types of advertisements. In his later discussion of advertisements produced during the late 1980s, Goldman's criticism provides little explanation about ideological working process, and little about the mechanism and social relations behind their production. He depicts more their superficial value and process of production. As claimed by Myers (1994) the main problem with his semiotic interpretation is that "he stresses the visual". This is not very different from Williamson who shows less interest in other components of advertisements

such as linguistic units and styles. However, compared with Williamson, Goldman's approach may be more sophisticated.

There is no doubt that Goldman's theories and approaches, as well as those of Williamson, have provided significant ground for understanding ideological and social issues in advertisements and their work contributes to the creative consideration of my research design. However, to overcome their limitations it is necessary to treat advertising as more than just a visual system. In fact, from Dyer's assertion in *Advertising As Communication* (1993) we can see that the visual sign is only one part of ads. In addition to the visual, advertisers also draw upon verbal signs, rhetorical figures, to create a public message.

Keiko Tanaka's approach

Keiko Tanaka, a lecturer in Japanese linguistics published her book *Advertising Language*, in 1994; this has been highly praised for providing, for the first time, a linguistic analysis of advertising within the framework of Relevance Theory, a stimulating new approach in the domain of pragmatics (1994 the blurb). The idea that new or newly presented information is processed in a context of existing assumptions is central to Sperber and Wilson's definition of relevance. However, while analyzing samples of advertisements, Tanaka raises a challenge to Relevance Theory.

Tanaka conducts a detailed analysis of the written language of advertisements drawn from Britain and Japan, on the ground of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986 a). She focuses on certain key words and concepts about images of women in an attempt to see how their literal meanings are extended and shifted by advertisers in Japan and whether they are affected ideologically through advertising.

She (1994: 111) observes that the words "intelligence and intelligent" have different meanings when applied to women. They are defined as

"appearance rather than mental capacity", and as synonyms of "elegance", "femininity" or "sophistication", but not synonyms of "brightness" and "cleverness". It is evident that the ideological function of these advertisements is to assert that the desirable quality defining the stereotype of women in Japan is beauty rather than brightness. There is no radical change in the female stereotype. Women are still closely tied to the ideological image of beauty, and fashion.

With a close examination of frequently used words such as "intelligence" and "individualism" in women's magazines, Tanaka's analysis shows that the change of meaning is superficial, the stereotype of women still remains or is reinforced without dramatic change at ideological level.

However, there may be some exceptions. In identifying an apparent case of ideological phenomenon Tanaka claims (1994: 118) that there has long been a strong emphasis on the group over the individual in Japan, yet an increasing number of advertisements in young women's magazines emphasize individuality (i.e. do one's own thing and behave uniquely, not as society and others usually want.) Tanaka's words suggest that there might be some potential challenge to the group ideology followed by the Japanese in the following examples:

1. Good Italian color and shape, Gussini.

For women who enjoy their life in an individual life.

2. Let's design our own hair this summer.

As American girls do.

As European girls do.

(1994: 119-120)

It is clear that these advertisements which encourage "individualism" tend to emphasize the concept of elitism. In another word, one can be individual

through buying western goods and doing what western girls do; Tanaka's analysis of these advertisements offers a stimulating approach to advertising and reveals the ideology relevant to Japanese society and women.

Unfortunately, the results of her analysis can be hardly taken as universally persuasive, most significantly because the size of her data collection is inadequate. There are only 14 advertising expressions concerning the concept of "intelligence", "elegance" and "sophistication" and 13 advertising expressions for "individualism".

It is true that her comprehensive study of advertising language covers not only the forms and functions of language but also other relevant features, but in contrast to Williamson Tanaka's analysis fails to draw attention to the illustrations, visual parts (photographs, pictures) of her advertising examples.

Frank Jefkins (2000: 17) argues that effective communication depends very often on a merging of words and pictures. At present, not only language but also images can gain ground where the meanings derived from their interaction. Tanaka could have made more satisfactory findings of the advertising language if she could have further explored the relationship between captions, illustrations and ideology rather than treating these features in isolation.

Guy Cook's approach

Guy Cook has constructed a complex approach to advertising discourse. In *The Discourse of Advertising* (2001), Cook aims to give a precise definition of advertising discourse. From his point of view, advertising consists of two main parts: text and context. Text refers to "linguistic forms, temporarily and artificially separated from context for the purposes of analysis". Context includes, "substance, music, pictures, paralanguage, situation, co-text,

intertext, participants function" (2001: 4). These elements are brought together meaningfully by the participants in communication. Cook's study is based on the belief that language is always meaningful in context, and there are no acts of communication without the elements as mentioned above. (2001:5)

The analysis of advertising discourse is complex and tough, because all the elements have to be tackled. Cook has drawn up a diagram of his approach. (see Figure 1.1 Interaction of elements in ads; Cook 2001: 6) which seems comprehensive and includes all the features that can be counted. This offers analysts an insight into the structure and functions of ads and is helpful for other researchers.

Cook's focus on ideology in advertising discourse analysis can be seen in his assertion that music and pictures are two other modes of advertising and which he describes in broad terms as signifying or creating "cheerfulness" or "gloominess". The connotations of music can create or overshadow both pictures and words. As for pictures (2001:54) they do far more than carry a story. Cook found that the advertisement of Wrigley's Spearmint Gum, to be a classic example (2001:58).

The information that advertisements convey through music and pictures without any words and utterance is known as unspoken information, but as it is probably known to advertisers and consumers it becomes shared assumptions. Cook takes the unspoken information and shared assumptions as "an index of ideology", suggesting that the absence of reference to shared information has led to the observation that it is what is omitted in discourse, the gaps within it, which constitute the shared ideology of the participants (2001: 179). The receiver can understand what is unspoken by the producer because the music and pictures help to fill the gap and produce the shared knowledge and ideology in ads. These make the discourse coherent.

One thing I have to mention is that Cook's diagram illustrates only "a

synchronic snapshot of a moment in time” (2001: 6) but I would really like Cook to offer us some ideas about the changes of advertising through the time. There might be some reasons for ignoring the diachronic aspect in his book, for “advertising in the era of colour magazines, television, and the Internet is a new phenomenon, both in nature, quantity and effect” (2001: 6). But in my study I still hope that while emphasizing “this interdependence of elements” (2001:6) of the present advertising discourse I also need to think about the relationship between the advertising discourse and the context of history.

In order to promote research into advertising discourse, analysts should take all elements into consideration. But diachronic study is also needed. It can help us observe the changes of advertising in relation to changes in the economy and ideology because advertising is able to mirror social change to some extent. Research has been carried out in different countries, such as China, New Zealand (Fay 1999; 2003), although when based on one (text) or two dimensions (text and physical context) they are not enough to offer a deep and dynamic view of advertising.

It should be remarked that all these approaches have different strengths and limitations, I have decided in my research to draw from them according to their relevance to my project, but Fairclough offers the more systematic and well-grounded model for constructing an explanatory and analytical framework.

In this part, some scholars’ approaches to Chinese advertising are reviewed. They are approaches taken by Liu Hong (2006), Zhao Jinjing (2012), Lin Shengliang (2012), Chen Baisu (2012), Pang Juai (2011) and Li Juyuan (2009).

Liu Hong’s approach

Liu Hong (2012), a sociologist provided the concept of mutual interaction

between advertising and society. Liu's study of advertising is based on sociology and focuses on the relationship between advertising and commodities, advertising and human beings, advertising and social life, advertising and public culture, advertising and social control and postmodernism.

Liu insisted on taking the sociological approach to advertising and explored these dimensions in depth. He claimed that the multiple dimensions of society and ideological values also construct the research objectives and basic trend of the interaction between society and advertising. He divided the language function in advertising into two levels. One plays the indexical function to name the product, the other one has the ideological function of adding new meaning to the product. With the example of Marlboro, he explained that at the first level, the language of Marlboro refers to the product, the cigarette. At the second level the language of Marlboro expresses the value of bourgeois masculinity. Therefore, the language at the second level also plays the function of naturalization and adds value to the product. He also held that "consumers today pay a great attention to the value, concepts, ideas and connotations of products" (Li 2012: 76-78).

From his analysis we can see that with the ideological function the interaction between advertising and consumers exceeds the convention of selling and buying products, but it promotes and consumes certain ideological meanings.

Zhao Jinjing's approach

The researcher, Zhao Jinjing studied the consumerism embedded in Chinese advertising. For this, he constructed a comprehensive theoretical framework based on the theory of consuming society in the combination of the semiotics of structuralism, the culture of postmodernism, the diffusion of communication and consuming psychology. In his research some issues were tackled, such as the relationship between consumer culture and

sustainable development in Chinese advertising, fair and objective evaluation of consumerism in Chinese advertising and so on.

His study presents the changes in the ideological value of consumerism in China in the various phases from 1953 to 2010. During the entire period the consuming ideological values underwent several changes from encouraging frugality and cautious consumption to curbing consumption, from encouraging consumption to guiding and fully stimulating consumption (Zhao 2012: 39-44) through the Chinese social progress. Zhao analyzed advertising verbal expressions through which evidence for a set of ideological values related to consumerism were found. The practical methods adopted by Zhao Jinjing (2012) were content analysis, interviews, document study and case study.

Although his major interest is in the study of economic value of consumerism in the Chinese advertising rather than the language itself, his analytical methods, illustrations of ideological changes in consumption could offer some practical and valuable suggestions for my research.

Lin Shengliang's approach

The study of advertisements conducted by the scholar Lin Shengliang was concerned with specific cases at different periods of time. Lin argued that advertisements are the carrier of culture, and can mirror current life, ideas, create power to shape social life and ideas, and influence culture, but also exaggerate particular life styles. I read Lin's work during the final stage of my research (2013); however I found his study and methods to be consistent with my research in some ways, especially in exploring the features of ideological values of different phases.

But there is difference between his division into phases and mine. My division into phases was based on the economic and political development of society while Lin divided the phases according to the advertising operation

view. My division resulted in three phases, while he divided the time periods into five, namely, power of product (1979-1973), power of culture (1984-1993), power of media (1994-1997), power of marketing (1998-2003), and power of brand (2004-2011). His aim was in “exploring the fluctuation of consumption view and operation view in every stage, and seeking out the root cause of the outlook of times, which correlates the operation view and consumption view” (Lin 2012: 3). Despite our differences in the division into phases, our purposes were similar; it was necessary that we both display changes of ideological values in advertising chronologically.

For his chronological study, Lin selected fifteen cases since the reform and explored them in depth through document analysis, and interviews; by these means a clear outline of the impact of advertising on Chinese ideological values was depicted. His study also proved that the opening up of the Chinese economy and the advance of production could also influence ideological values in a certain time period, in the domain of consumption.

But the study inevitably has its own limitations. As he said, although these fifteen cases were carried out by interviews and questionnaires it is still hard to deduce whether and how much they could objectively and truly reflect reality, because everyone’s life experience, comprehension of the world and opinions differ. Due to the restrictions of historical time, the researcher can only refer to second-hand material for his analysis and this is not strong enough to confirm his viewpoints. From my point of view the benefit of his analysis is in his theoretical discussion of the background information of the social and economic development that influenced Chinese advertising at different phases. Although he presented many linguistic features of popular advertising slogans used in the different phases, he did not analyse or interpret them in his discussion of views of the advertising operation.

Chen Baisu’s approach

The study of mass media by Chen Baisu (2012) is concerned with the advertising consciousness, which can be defined as consumer's attitudes, cognition and behavior (Chen 2012). Although in her study a clear borderline was drawn between advertising consciousness and ideology, she focused her attention mostly on the relationship between these two elements, on the issue of how Chinese advertising consciousness was influenced by the Chinese mainstream ideologies in the different time periods. She (2012) also maintains: "Consumer's advertising consciousness to a large extent mirrors the advertiser's guidance and even the trend of the national mainstream ideologies." This suggests that the advertising contents can reveal the colourful historical imagery and mainstream ideologies which in turn react to the human attitudes, cognition and behaviour of advertising. Chen's study was conducted on a chronological basis from 1979 to the present mainly through analysis of the relevant documents. It depicted the development of the Chinese advertising industry over the last 30 years or more which was considered to be the era of Chinese political and economic change from a politically oriented society to an economically oriented one. In addition to the analysis of changes in advertising consciousness, Chen (2012:120) presented the verbal advertising expressions and texts which she used as evidence of the relationship between consciousness and historical events.

Her research exposed features of advertising consciousness on the one hand, but also on the other hand confirmed (2012:182) that advertisements function as a mirror reflecting the vivid deep marks of times. The study of advertising is not to summarize things but to discover values behind things.

These above-mentioned approaches of Chinese scholars at present demonstrate similar features to the study of advertisements in a chronological manner, employing verbal advertising discourse as supportive data for their arguments. Since they are not linguists it is hard for them to

explore the advertising language further and find more information in it. However, their researches and findings have provided a great deal of knowledge of the Chinese advertising industry in relation to aspects of ideological changes and the relationship between historical events, mainstream ideological values and advertising discourses. All these will be beneficial for my research.

Li Juyuan's approach

Of all the Chinese researchers, Li Juyuan (2009) is the only one who has claimed to be the first linguist to be engaged in the critical analysis of advertising discourse following the theory and methods of Norman Fairclough. Just as I stated about my reasons for conducting the research into advertising discourse in China, Li was motivated by the current situation in the field of discourse analysis which he claimed was mainly concerned with vocabulary, sentence structure, rhetoric, culture, texts and functional grammar, but not with the ideological meaning of advertising discourse. He maintains:

In the perspective of critical analysis, language can be used to express information, reveal internal and external experiences and set up relations between addressors and addressees. Meanwhile it can also speak about ideological value, belief, attitude and control receiver's thoughts.

(2009: iv)

Li's research framework for analyzing advertising discourse was built on Fairclough's three dimensional model (2006) (i.e. text, discursive practice and social practice). The major linguistic elements analyzed in his research included modality, transitivity and intertextuality. His data for analysis was collected from the on-line English magazines, *Harvard Business Review*, *Woman's Day* and *The Chinese magazine, the 21st Century* (2006). The

sample size was twenty-two advertisements. His major concern was with the analysis of the language items from the perspective of functional grammar and common advertising operation views, but not with the historical and political factors, and not with the time periods, he examined his advertisements only as separate cases. Although there were obvious features of ideological meanings in the illustrations which could have been explored fruitfully, he ignored them. However, I should admit that his analysis on the advertising language in the critical framework is a significant start in this domain of advertising discourse study.

2.8 On Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In the previous sections I have examined several approaches to the language of advertising and ideology both in China and abroad identifying their strengths and weaknesses. CDA, as a recent approach to discourse analysis, is more relevant to my aims in analyzing Chinese advertising than the traditional approaches, for it deals with the relationship between social relations, ideology and language use as its fundamental objective. It also provides a highly-structured and concrete framework.

My research aims to combine the study of advertising discourse with the social and ideological factors embedded in the discourse and language through the three-dimensional framework of CDA. In introducing CDA in this section, I do not wish to suggest that CDA is a uniquely perfect approach to advertising, rather I intend to describe its methods, and discuss its basic principles and theoretical underpinning.

2.8.1 Notions of CL and CDA

Traditional discourse analysis has been widely discussed by linguists and discourse analysts, with the aim of describing texts – pieces of discourse (e.g. linguistic items, forms and structures) and how they work (including contextual elements and meaning). Dissatisfied with pure description as the

primary goal for discourse analysis and stimulated by the different views of and awareness about language and discourse analysis, researchers became more critical of research on language and discourse. Two groups emerged in the late 1970s, representing critical linguistics or CL (Fowler et al. 1979 *Language and Control*; Hodge and Kress, 1993 *Language as Ideology*) and critical discourse analysis or CDA (Fairclough 1989, 1992 *Language and Power, Discourse and Social Change*; van Dijk 1985 *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*)

Fowler, an exponent of CL, is interested in the questions about the relationship between language functions and ideological meanings. Fowler applies the principles of Halliday's "Systemic and Functional Grammar" to language analysis, such as the aspect of "transitivity" relevant to ideational meaning for expressing reality and that of "modality" referring to interpersonal meaning which reflects social relations and social identities in clauses. However, CL cannot be considered to be a perfect system of language study. The limitations are argued by Fairclough:

... emphasis upon the text as product rather than upon the processes of producing and interpreting texts. 2. ... a one-sided emphasis upon the effects of discourse in the social reproduction existing social relations and structures. 3. the language-ideology interface is too narrowly conceived.

(2006: 28)

Recognizing these limitations, two other CL scholars, Hodge and Kress, in the second edition of *Language as Ideology* (1996) recognized as a fundamental work of CL, and a comprehensive account of the theory of language that underpinned CDA after its first publication in 1979, added a chapter "Reading Power" which explored the operation of ideology and power in discourse in order to remedy the weakness pointed out by Fairclough.

The two terms, CL and CDA are often used interchangeably. But CDA tends to be more concerned with the relation between language and power and extends beyond the written monologue. This new trend in discourse studies rather than a new school is a complex, more interdisciplinary approach to discourse and covers more aspects of discourse, so the term CDA is preferred by discourse analysts.

The publication of *Language and Power* by Fairclough (1989) is considered to be the CDA landmark. Fairclough offers an innovative framework for examining the interaction between language and social practice, not available in other approaches, such as linguistic, functional, pragmatic ones and conversation analysis. Other scholars engaged in the ideological analysis of the advertising discourse, as examined in the previous sections, are not as highly systematic as Fairclough's framework despite their approaches in terms of grounded theory and methodology.

Theoretical Discussion of CDA

CDA does not have a unitary theoretical framework itself. It is diverse in theory and methods. But with respect to its general aims, the common consensus is that CDA takes social theory as its starting-point. In addition to linguistic analysis CDA practitioners situate discourse in society. Thus, they show great interest in power, ideology, politics, race, discrimination, social structures. As for Fairclough, the theoretical bases of his CDA are mostly developed from Michel Foucault's (e.g. 1975, 1982) formulations of "orders of discourse" and "power / knowledge"; Antonio Gramsci's (1971) notion of "hegemony"; Louis Althusser's (1971) concepts of "ideological state apparatuses" and "interpellation" (Blommaert 2005). All this has played a role in the formation of CDA.

One of Foucault's fundamental concerns is the relationship of discourse and power although later he shifted the emphasis to the relationship between knowledge and power. He holds, "in every society, the production of

discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable, materiality" (1984: 109 cited by Fairclough 2006: 51). Influenced by the perspective of Foucault, Fairclough focuses his attention on the relationship between power and language, as well as ideology which is in service of power. He states, "the exercise of power, in modern society is increasingly achieved through ideology, and more particularly through ideological workings of language" (1989: 2).

However, besides the consensus about the perspectives on the discourse of Foucault and Fairclough, the critical approaches to discourse analysis differ. From the sociological point of view, Foucault's approach is more abstract in contrast with Fairclough's textual oriented discourse analysis (TODA) (2006: 37). As a philosopher and sociologist, Foucault's interest is in "revealing the rules of formation, the regularities, and modes of organization of thought which lay beneath particular formations of knowledge, rules which eluded the consciousness of the scientist and yet were fundamental to the constitution of 'scientific' knowledge and discourse" (Smart 2002: 37). Smart suggests that it is not easy for one to simply apply Foucault's perspective to linguistic discourse analysis. In order to overcome the weakness of Foucault's work, Fairclough built discursive and linguistic studies of real texts in addition to Foucault's social analysis of discourse.

In this, discourse analysis may have grown into a more critical phase, because TODA is likely to support social analysis with cultural and linguistic evidence and it also helps to explain linguistic features in social context and unfold the relation between language and power at an ideological level. The study of discourse is conducted by Fairclough in a three-dimensional model (textual analysis, discursive practice and social practice).

The third dimension of Fairclough's CDA regards discourse as social practice

relevant to a view of power which derives from Gramsci's theory of hegemony (Gramsci 1971 cited by Fairclough 2006: 10). Fairclough applied the conception of hegemonic power to CDA, arguing that participants in discourse, "construct or sustain or fracture alliances and relations of domination/subordination, which takes economic, political and ideological forms" (2006: 29). It is obvious that hegemony can be understood as a sort of strategy for people to keep a harmonious state rather than "dominance" or "struggle" through which ideologies are transmitted and shared in a naturalized common sense. For this, orders of discourse have to be adjusted and intertextuality is adopted in the production of discourse which is centered upon in the second dimension (discursive practice) of Fairclough's CDA.

Althusser's perspectives of ideology are taken by Fairclough as the theoretical basis for his three important claims about ideology in CDA (Fairclough 2006): first, it opens up the way "to investigate discursive practices as material forms of ideology". Second, "one of the more significant ideological effects", which linguists ignore in discourse, is the constitution of subjects. Third, it points to "struggle in and over discourse as a focus for an ideologically-oriented discourse analysis."

However, Fairclough does not totally accept Althusser's view (1971) of "ideology in general" as a form of social cement which is inseparable from society itself. Ideologies are formulated on the basis of social relations of classes, groups of people. While ideologies can affect people's thoughts and behavior, they can also be transcended by people. In this sense, ideologies are not always in a dominant position in a society, because power relies on human beings. Although each of these theories and perspectives have their own weakness and limitation they have nevertheless laid the theoretical foundation for CDA.

Norman Fairclough's approach

In contrast to other scholars and philosophers of ideology, Norman Fairclough's contribution is to use ideological doctrines in analyzing everyday texts. Besides political articles, commercial texts are also material for his analysis because "It should not be too difficult to show that advertising is in broad terms more heavily invested (in the respect of ideology) than the physical sciences" (Fairclough 2006: 91).

Fairclough has examined advertisements within the framework of CDA. (see Fairclough 2006: 113, 210; 1989: 202; Jogensen and Phillips 2008).

In his analysis, Fairclough focuses on ideology as contributing to the meaning of advertising discourse. He also criticizes the Advertising Standards Authority which is in charge of the British Code of Advertising Practice for ignoring the "societally more important ideological work of advertising", for it is believed that advertising constructs consumption of commodities "through ideology" or "implicit assumption". Following this, Fairclough gave a detailed explanation of the mechanism of ideology in advertising with reference to a washing machine advertisement: building images, building relations, building the customers (Fairclough 1989: 203).

Building images is one part of ideological process in which the product image is constructed ideologically to be a frame of modern life style.

"The frame packages together – everyone" (Fairclough 1989: 206).

The most important characteristic of modern life should be of efficiency, elegance, economy and the best way of life.

The major and final ideological work of advertising is to construct the consumers of the commodity which is based on the other two parts of ideological work (i.e. building images and relations). The object of building the customers is to make the reader of the advertisement into a customer of "commodity which is preoccupied with the easification of life at the least possible costs" (Fairclough 1989: 207). This naturalized common sense is

generally accepted by consumers. The formation of ideological process of advertising is not merely to construct people into traditional consumers whose relationship with producers are just sellers and passive buyers but to provide them with lifestyles which are more fantastic than they expect.

Advertising discourse is made up of properties perpetuated in the world: languages, images, sound and products. But these are not valuable without meanings, which are closely related to our views, ideas, beliefs of the world. That is ideology. It is even possible to make advertising analysis merely through linguistic approach (e.g. Leech 1966) which could offer us some insight into the superficial mechanism and denotative meaning (e.g. Dyer 1988) of the object but separate us from the world out there. Therefore, I intend not to take language description as the final goal in the analysis of advertisements. What the scholars, sociologists and linguists mentioned in this section recommend is to employ different skills and methods for discourse analysis (e.g. semiotic, pragmatic, communicative approaches and CDA) in order to decode advertisements (e.g. Williamson 2005) at the deep level. The ideological meaning that is the most significant part of the work which requires elaboration of the ideological working process in advertisements (e.g. Vestergaard & Schroder 1985), because the ideological element is not usually as transparent as other elements (e.g. Goldman 2002). We should not reject any approach, out of hand, even the linguistic approach, but learn to consider the contextual and social factors in pragmatic way for examining the ideological meanings (e.g. Tanaka 1994).

However, a complex approach, such as, Guy Cook's (2001) can be a good choice for understanding advertising discourse, because ideology is not only hidden in language but also comes out of images, music, color and sound. The description of ideologies embedded in advertising discourse is not the destination of this research but I agree with Fairclough that exploring the mechanisms and processes of ideological production is of considerable

benefit (e.g. Fairclough 2006).

It is evident that applying the theoretical and analytical frameworks of CDA to the concept of ideology is increasingly becoming an important trend for advertising discourse study. Talking about perspectives of ideology initiated by contemporary influential sociologists, linguists, politicians, and historians is to see how people's beliefs, ideas, world values and common sense are organized. By considering the way how ideology is created and contained in advertising discourse, we can also discover that true meaning of advertising exists both within and outside the discourse. These are the reasons for my intention to examine Chinese advertising discourse through CDA, to which the next section is dedicated.

Methods of CDA

In *Discourse and Social Change*, Fairclough (2006) lays down the theoretical foundation of CDA program, and he also provides a methodological blueprint for CDA called a three-dimensional framework: (see Figure 3.1 in 2006: 73 for Fairclough's Three-dimensional conception of discourse)

1. discourse-as-text,
2. discourse-as-discursive-practice,
3. discourse-as-social-practice.

The first dimension is concerned with choices of vocabulary, grammar cohesion and text organization; the second dimension with speech acts, coherence, and intertextuality which are connected to the social context; the third with the ideological effects and hegemonic processes in which discourse is seen to operate. This third dimension obviously represents Fairclough's theoretical claim about CDA.

In addition to the three dimensions, Fairclough constructs three phases in research procedure:

1. Description,
2. Interpretation,
3. Explanation

In the descriptive phase, CDA focuses on the textual dimension (e.g. the mode of linguistic features). CDA at the discursive practice level involves interpretation of the processes of text production, distribution, and consumption (e.g. from casual talks to formal official reports which are produced in different social contexts and through different routines, reaching different participants and treated differently by them.) (Xin 2005; Blommaret 2005; Wodak 2001; Fairclough 2006).

As for discourse in its third dimension - social practice - the researcher draws on social theory to spell out the connection of ideology and power to discourse. The purpose of this dimension is to provide a rich framework for investigating discourse.

In summary, Fairclough's three-dimensional model with its three phases of research procedure aims at exploring the links between language use and social practice. According to Jorgensen and Philips:

The model is based on, and promotes, the principle that texts can never be understood in or analyzed in isolation – they can only be understood in relation to webs of other texts and in relation to the social context.

(2008: 70)

In addition, it illustrates the relationship between text and social context in a dialectical way. This is one reason why I have chosen this model as an appropriate analytic tool for my analysis of advertising discourse.

Critical Discussion of Fairclough's CDA

To my understanding the significant contribution of CDA to discourse analysis is that it integrates critical studies with discourse analysis rather

than purely describes discourse in terms of linguistic form and its function.

CDA expands from the communicative context to social context based on political and ideological notions, such as power, hegemony and inequality. It is believed that there are no approaches to discourse analysis which are absolute. It is the same to CDA which also receives criticisms from other researchers. First of all, in the articles of Henry Widdowson (1998) he criticizes that CDA does not analyze how a text can be read in many ways, or under what social circumstances it is produced and consumed. Similar criticism is made by Jorgensen and Phillips (2008) that Fairclough does not sociologically examine the ways in which texts are produced or decoded.

I quite agree with their argument. For the most part of his discourse analysis, Fairclough focuses on textual analyses but has not analyzed the process and ways how the texts are produced and decoded though in his assertion that discursive practice involves processes of text production, distribution and consumption (Fairclough 2006: 78). This criticism reminds us of attitudes, and common sense of participants which shall be considered in research on the advertising discourse. Furthermore, some single cases of CDA have been conducted in turn but the number of texts is small. Therefore, the universal representativeness of his findings is still open to doubt, because limited amount of data cannot be sufficient enough to reveal a system of views which are the premise for ideology. One way to solve this methodological problem is to expand the size of data. This will be contemplated in the following chapter of methodology. However, Widdowson also accuses:

analysts in practice simply define their own conditions of significance as the spirit, or political commitment, takes them and identify ideological positions in reference to their own. [...] if you know the provenance of a particular text you will obviously, as a matter of rudimentary pragmatic fact, position yourself accordingly and be primed to find confirmation of your own prejudice.

In addition, Schegloff (1999) assumes that analysts project their own political biases and prejudices onto their data and analyze them accordingly (cited from Blommaert 2005).

In their sense, CDA analysts do not have their own theoretical framework and their analysis is based on "ideological commitment, their own spirit" and "biases and prejudice". So their interpretation is prejudiced and the data which are selected and examined ought to support their preferred interpretation. There might be some cases of CDA in which analysts yield their biased interpretation, but there is no fixed cause and effect link between prejudice and CDA, because prejudice and biased interpretation can be created in other approaches and it is undeniable that there may be cases of fair and reasonable interpretation made by CDA analysts. The formulation of prejudice is complicated. Besides what approaches to be used, it also depends on how the approaches are to be used. For the most time, personal experience, academic background and social context can effect one's interpretation of discourse. The purpose of CDA is already explicitly stated to be socially and politically oriented, offering corresponding analytical framework for analysts. Therefore, criticism of prejudice of CDA analysts is oversimplified.

To some extent, the above mentioned criticisms could reflect the weakness of CDA. As an analytical system for discourse, the criteria (e.g. explicitness, objectivity, reliability, and testability) should be fundamental. It is hoped that CDA could provide a standard mode of analytical system, in particular, for social practical dimension. To overcome prejudice and present more objective views, especially on the advertisements that were issued a few decades ago, it is necessary for us to refer to the authoritative documents and officially published literature.

One question to deserve discussion is the linguistic origin of CDA. In a

number of articles written by Fairclough in particular, the claim of linguistic use is repeatedly made for Halliday's systemic-functional linguistics. But Blommaert (2005:34) takes it as one of the problems in CDA, criticizing, "The first one (problem) is the linguistic bias in CDA. It has been noted several times above: CDA puts a very high price on linguistic-textual analysis, more specifically on systemic-functional linguistics." It is not acceptable to consider the reliance on Hallidayan linguistics in CDA as a problem.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough state that CDA's unique critical capacity is connected to Hallidayan systemic-functional linguistics (SFL):

It is no accident that critical linguistics and social semiotics arose out of SFL [systemic-functional linguistics] or that other work in CDA has drawn upon it – SFL theories language in a way which harmonies far more with the perspective of critical social science than other theories of language.

(1999:139)

It is not surprising that CDA adopts only one theory of language, other discourse researchers, if critical, have the same choice in taking SFL as their linguistic origin, because both SFL and CDA have similar objective to uncover linguistic structures of social relations and ideological functions in discourse. SFL offers a critical framework for linguistic study. However, in contrast with Hallidayan linguistics, the other two mainstream linguistic theories: the Chomskian paradigm and sociolinguistics cannot treat language in a critical way. In this, other linguistic theories are overlooked and do not qualify for CDA. I quite agree with the statement made by Tischer, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter:

CDA must be intelligible in its interpretations and explanations. The way in which investigators have arrived at their results must be recognizable.

In addition, the validity of CDA results is not absolute and immutable but always open to new contexts and information which might cause the results to change.

(2007: 164)

As a quite newly established approach CDA transcends the conventional notions and methods of discourse analysts. It is concerned more with the social problems and ideology which are usually hidden between the lines of language. That is the reason why besides "description" and "interpretation", "explanation" is added to discourse analysis. The question now is not only whether there are influences of social and ideological factors in discourse, but also it is how such factors can exert an influence on human utterances and what kind of relationship between society and language there is; this can be hardly seen in other approaches.

2.8.2 Taking CDA approach for my research

As for applying CDA to my research, there are reasons as follows:

1) The traditional approaches to discourse, which concentrate on description of linguistic and functional features of discourse cannot offer us a complete view and adequate meaning of discourse. If we want to go deeper for the meaning which may be hidden behind the language we should take a more critical and social insight into its ideological properties and hegemonic functions which are emphasized by CDA. Compared with other approaches to critical discourse analysis, "Fairclough, in our view, constructed the most sophisticated framework for analysis of the relationship between language use and societal practices in general" (Jorgensen and Philips 2008: 89). Therefore, Fairclough's CDA will be taken as the core approach to advertising discourse in my research.

2) CDA attempts to "shed light on the linguistic-discursive dimension of

social and cultural phenomenon and processes of change in late modernity” (Jorgensen and Philips 2008: 61). It covers discursive practices in political, social and commercial areas at present. China has witnessed a historical change from a state-planned economy to market-oriented economy in its reform of 30 years. There must be some changes in people’s lives, beliefs, world values and relationships. As the language used in discourse should reflect these changes, it is necessary to adopt the mode of CDA to make a chronological and dynamic study of Chinese discourse in commerce and the mass media.

3) CDA accepts that “texts may be heterogeneous and ambiguous and configurations of different discourse types” during their production and consumption (Fairclough 2006: 35). These different types of discourse will be treated socially and ideologically rather than merely textually. That is through interpretation of intertextuality CDA intends to reveal the implicit assumptions and ground rules existing behind discursive practice but impact the style and structure of the discourse.

It is impossible to list all the reasons exhaustively at once, but the crucial point that the dialectically critical perspective emphasized by CDA is valuable to the exploration of my research questions and aims.

Summary

In this chapter I have introduced and reviewed the notions of CDA, ideology and approaches to advertising suggested by the Chinese and other international scholars which are concerned with language use and ideology, attempting to formulate a rich and applicable resource of theoretical perspectives and methods for studying the Chinese advertising. I hope that the literature review can provide the knowledge of what, how and why. However, there is always a gap between one’s expectation and reality. It is difficult to make a perfect and satisfactory review of the theories and methods suggested by others unless one applies them in one’s own practice.

Therefore, I believe that literature review must be continued throughout the whole process of research and that my personal views and criticisms will be validated by the research findings. The next chapter of the thesis will be dedicated to the methodology and research design of the analysis concerning the Chinese household appliance advertisements.

Chapter 3

Methodology and Research Design

Introduction

This chapter presents a reflective account of the process I followed to develop the research methods for this thesis, hence it is largely written as a narrative in the first person. One of the major concerns in the previous chapters was to offer an overview of the development of the Chinese advertising business in the domain of household appliances, and to introduce and discuss research into the advertising discourse conducted by the scholars both in China and overseas as well. Another was to define the notion of ideology and introduce critical discourse analysis (CDA) which was intended to lay a theoretical ground for the analytical framework of my research. It was seen in Chapter 2 that the language in the advertising discourse contains the ideological properties, but there was a lack of studies on Chinese advertising discourse, especially of household appliances in the Chinese environment. This means that there are very few cases of analysis of the ideological entity and the relationship between the language and ideology from the critical point of view; all of which would motivate me to choose the critical approach (CDA) to the analysis of the advertising discourse.

In order to carry out my research into Chinese household appliance advertisements at the ideological level and test the research questions that were addressed in the chapter of Introduction, I designed an analytical framework based on the theories and approaches to discourse analysis, particularly those of CDA. Among the critical approaches to discourse, I take the one suggested by Fairclough (1994, 2006). The reason is that Fairclough offers a detailed rationale of CDA and he "is particularly concerned with the relationship between discourse, common sense and ideology" (Pierce 2008: 286), he also provides a relatively practical analytical framework including

the three-dimensional mode (i.e. text, discourse and social practice) and three-stage system (i.e. description, interpretation and explanation).

Although the approach of CDA is a major part of my research framework, it also involves some specific methods suggested by others, such as Altheide's qualitative media analysis, which includes a protocol design strategy, Dyer's approach to advertising, and Rose's visual methodology, and also content analysis (Silverman 2006). The methods of these scholars have their own strengths for the specific analytic demand. Therefore taking Fairclough's CDA approach as the main line of the research framework I integrate it with other approaches concerned.

This chapter aims to present a profile of the methodological framework of my research mainly following the theory and methods of CDA with which I tackled the Chinese advertising discourse above the linguistic level, taking more broad contextual factors into consideration, and exposing the ideological values of the advertising language and images.

3.1 An Overview of the Research Framework

The limitation of traditional discourse analysis which remains at linguistic level to describe and interpret the ways and patterns of communication has been pointed out by CDA practitioners (e.g. van Dijk 1985, Fairclough 1985, Wodak 1989, Hodge and Kress 1993). Denscombe claims (2007: 288) that "Critical Discourse Analysis" relies quite heavily on the use of political, economic and social ideologies as its frame of reference for understanding the meanings embodied in the data. However since the 1980s a new trend has developed to explore meanings hidden in the depth of the discourse with a critical approach which stresses the political, social, commercial and ideological effects on discourse and the way how the elements of discourse serve the ideas beneficial for discourse participants.

We may notice that one of the significant characteristics of CDA is to rely

heavily on theories (Wodak and Meyer 2001:18): "ranging from microsociological perspectives (Ron Scollon) to theories of society and power in the tradition of Michel Foucault (Siegfried Jäger, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak), theories of social cognition (Teun van Dijk) and grammar, as well as individual concepts that are borrowed from larger theoretical traditions". From the above, we could claim that critical discourse analysts have developed discourse analysis from an analogous theoretical base for similar research objectives. But they are not contented with theoretical claims and conceptual discussion. Their primary concern is to relate theory to operation and transform critical perspectives into a methodological framework. For this, different approaches to CDA have been suggested. As one of the prominent representatives of CDA, Fairclough's contribution is not limited to launching a theoretical conception of CDA, but he has also constructed "the most sophisticated framework for analysis of the relationship between language use and societal practices in general" (Phillips and Jorgensen 2008: 89) in comparison with other analytical frameworks of CDA, as well as other traditional approaches to advertising discourse analysis which were mentioned in the literature review chapter.

Unlike the former discourse analysis approach (e.g. conversation analysis) which is interested in linguistic features and structural issues in the order of interaction, CDA is concerned with social problems, and "particularly concerned with the relationships between discourse, common sense and ideology" (Pierce 2008: 286), which can be seen as one of the major objectives of CDA. The theoretical principles guiding the operational framework of CDA originate from the critical Marxist theories of Althusser, Habermas and Gramsci (e.g. ideology, hegemony) and Michel Foucault (e.g. discourse, power). It is worth saying that discourse itself is virtually "social practice" (Fairclough 2006: 86). Similarly Harvey (1996, cited by Chouliaraki & Fairclough 2007: 6) proposed that discourse is one "moment"

among six: discourse/language; power; social relations; material practices; institutions/ritual; and beliefs/values/desires. In other words, discourse as language in use, is an event involving social and political elements related to ideology, hegemony and power. As claimed by Wodak & Meyer (2001: 2), most critical discourse analysts would thus endorse Habermas's claim (1977: 259) that language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Taking the position of understanding and interpreting discourse "from widely differing perspectives" (Titscher et al. 2007: 167), Fairclough has located discourse in social context through applying the social and political categories and linguistic theories of discourse and functional grammar, and he has formed a comprehensive and applicable approach, such as the three-dimensional analytic framework for analysis of textual, discursive practice, and social practice. To illustrate his work, Fairclough cited a series of examples of political, public and commercial discourses as data for analysis.

Fairclough's theory and methods of CDA became a cornerstone for the groundwork of my research into the ideological properties of advertising in China. However, what Fairclough has provided are some interesting and practical examples of critical discourse analysis which are but limited to a number of single and independent cases without being identified in a chronological pattern. From these we cannot see the variation of the language forms and ideological values in a changing social environment during a certain period of time. Since one aspect of my primary purpose for the research was to explore the discursive, ideological changes of the Chinese advertising in the historical context from 1981 till 1996, I decided to deal with a series of advertisements chronologically. I also needed to adopt some other practical methods along with Fairclough's approach which will be illustrated in the following section of the research design and methods.

3.2 Research Design and Methods

Based on the theoretical principles of CDA, I employed this critical approach to the present research which is a qualitative study. Denscombe explains:

the analysis of qualitative data that focuses on the implicit meaning of the text or image rather than its explicit content [...] This involves the researcher in a “deconstruction” of the data. The data are analysed by taking them apart to reveal how they: create meaning; contain hidden messages; reflect, generate and reinforce cultural messages; involve the reader as an active, not passive, interpreter of the message’s content.

(2007: 308)

Therefore, my own research into advertising discourse was not merely attached to the linguistic level and textual structure, but also the meanings of ideology, culture and those related to the context of social changes behind the linguistic features.

3.2.1 Visual discourse analysis

Most CDA practitioners have carried out mostly verbal discourse analysis, and they have paid less attention to the visual discourse analysis. As a result there are some weak points in the cases of their analysis as most of the time when analyzing the written discourses of political documents and news reports “they try to do a discourse analysis which is text oriented” (Phillips and Jorgensen 2008: 92) through systematically analyzing language in use. There are fewer examples of advertising discourse analysis, especially analysis of the visual part of advertising discourse. There are some exceptions for example Fairclough in *Language and Power* (1994) discussed advertisements (e.g. a case study of washing machine advertisement); and examples of advertising discourse analysis were also given by Hodge and Kress in *Social Semiotics* (1988). My analysis consists of two parts, one is

visual discourse analysis and the other is verbal discourse analysis. From my point of view, both visual and verbal advertising discourses should be treated equally.

Regarding the visual discourse analysis, Cook (2001) maintains, "pictures are part of the discourse of ads, and to ignore or downplay them is a serious distortion". It is a unique and common feature of the advertising discourse to "include such natural co-occurrences as smoke and fire, dark clouds and impending rain, a human footprint and the presence of a human being..." (Cook 2001). It is obvious that words and images are usually employed as two major components in advertisements. The purpose of having images is more than just for being good-looking and beauty-appreciation on the surface. If we pay attention to how people read advertisements, we would find that they are most likely attracted by the image of advertising first, because, "A picture is used to lead the eye to the written copy in magazine ads and in commercials; language is used merely to reinforce a photograph or filmed sequence" (Dyer 1993: 86). This statement suggests the significant function of the visual image is for grasping the reader's attention and the relationship between the image and language. Therefore, advertisers deploy the images for capturing people's attention, (e.g. beauty of a female figure, smiling face towards the audience, and modern image of a product). But we should notice that besides their attractive function the visual images also transmit social meanings along with the commercial message. While we argue that language is ideological, we must also admit that much meaning is conveyed by visual images, and images offer views of the world; they render the world in visual terms (Rose 2001: 6). As remarked by Dyer (1988: 82), "In some respects the influence of advertising can be attributed to recent technological improvements and innovations in the production and distribution of pictorial or visual representations of reality". Goldman and Papson also state:

The power of advertising lies in its ability to photographically frame and redefine our meanings and our experiences and then turn them into meanings that are consonant with corporate interests. This power to recontextualize and reframe photographic images has put advertising at the center of contemporary redefinitions of individuality, freedom, and democracy in relation to corporate symbols.

(1996: 216)

All these above statements suggested some of the functions performed by the visual image. The point is not whether I should include the visual discourse or verbal discourse or inseparably both in my analysis, but the thing I had to consider is what functions the visual image can play and what meanings they can convey at the ideological level. Therefore, if I am looking critically at the advertisements, verbal and visual discourses must be given equal attention

3.2.2 Verbal textual analysis

In CDA, the verbal text is also an essential part of analysis. But in contrast with the former (non-critical) forms of discourse analysis, the textual analysis of CDA is conducted in the social (interpersonal) and ideological (ideational) framework in reference to discursive practice for achieving a broader understanding of what is involved in a discursive event. Since 1988, Fairclough in a number of his works (1989, 1992, 1995, 2000, 2006, 2008) has provided either a schematic picture or a step-by-step guidance of how CDA operates in practice. There are also researchers who have drawn on Fairclough's model (1992) which is based on three dimensions of discourse and discourse analysis. It may imply that his three-dimensional analytical framework has been generally approved to be useful and "suited to analysis of the contexts of social and discursive change" (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, Vetter, 2007:164), because as asserted by Pierce (2008) in the complex system of discourse analysis, Fairclough exposes the relationships between

language, discourse and social practice. As stated above, the data analysis of my research primarily adopted the model of three dimensions suggested by Fairclough, especially in the domain of verbal discourse analysis, which is illustrated as follows:

For the first dimension, the analysis is mainly concerned with the textual dimension, dealing with the forms of language including vocabulary, clause and grammar with reference to the theory of Halliday's systemic-functional grammar. But some of the ideological issues will be tackled.

In the second dimension, the major analytical work focuses on discursive practice, moving from the bottom of the vocabulary, clause and grammar to the top of the discourse structure and intertextuality. Since this part of analysis is thought to be more complicated in displaying how the discourse is formed and organized, it was carried out with reference to the theories of Wells, Burnett, & Moriarty (2006), Allen (2003) and some other scholars. However, the analysis on the matter of linguistic forms and the discursive structure and formulation did not present a pure description of the linguistic system; rather through a further interpretation in a broader social perspective, the presentation of linguistic forms and discursive practice revealed the ideological function and value of advertising discourse.

In the third dimension, through interpretation and explanation, analysis of the social practice dimension broadened the circle of discursive context including social factors, concepts of ideology, hegemony and power. The effects of the context on discourse formation were also explored.

It was expected that the three-dimensional model in practice should be carried out in the order as stated above, but there was inevitably some recursiveness and alternation of the three dimensions in the process of analysis. Also, we ought to see that Fairclough's three-dimensional model is primarily concerned with the course of data analysis which is only a part of the whole research. In a broad sense the research involved sampling

(selecting texts), data collection, data analysis as well as writing reports. Thus, the following part of this section is dedicated to the description of the whole procedure of the research.

3.2.3 Altheide's qualitative media analysis

In a practical way, along with Fairclough's critical approach, the basic framework of the procedure for my research has also adopted a number of steps from the "Qualitative Media Research" model for the qualitative analysis on documents set forth by Altheide (1996). As said by Manning et al (1996), Altheide's "Qualitative Media Analysis provides a useful logic for organizing media studies." Although Altheide's interest is in documents of newspapers, magazines and photos, he provides a practical guideline for tackling media documents using a practical approach. This is very concrete and also applicable to examining advertisements which also belong to the media documents and in essence share things in common with those documents mentioned above. More than that, Altheide in his assertion about his analytic model takes a similar viewpoint to those of CDA practitioners:

The critic's task is to place the writing, the text, and its readings into alternative contexts or fields, or to recode the text. Adequate criticism should enable others to "penetrate" the author's intent and the tenor of the times within which the text existed, to strip away lies and stylistic obfuscations, and to discover therefore the deeper or "real" meaning of a written product.

(Cullum-Swan 1994: 468 cited by Altheide 1996:8)

Altheide's approach to media discourse analysis is based on his concept that documents provide another way to focus on yet another consideration of social life (Altheide 1996: 10). His document analysis aims at looking at the relationship between change of social activities and the impact on the form of documents. Altheide does not focus his interest on "the immediate impact

of message on some audience member, but rather two aspects of the document: (a) the document process, context, and significance and (b) how the document helps define the situation and clarify meaning for the audience member” (Altheide 1996:12). To some extent, Altheide’s analytic purpose coincides with mine, that is, to tackle advertising discourse for exploring its deep meaning in a broader social context.

In practice, Altheide conducted his whole research process in five stages which involves twelve steps in their progression “in qualitative document analysis” (Altheide 1996:12). These five stages and twelve steps are shown as follows.

Five stages:

- (a) documents, (finding and gaining access to the documents)
- (b) protocol development and data collection,
- (c) data coding and organization,
- (d) data analysis, and
- (e) report.

Twelve steps:

- 1. topic 2. ethnographic study/lit. 3. a few documents 4. draft protocol 5. examine documents 6. revise protocol 7. theoretical sample 8. collect data 9. code data 10. compare items 11. case studies 12. report

3.3 Research Procedure

How to conduct the research became a rather crucial question, which involved not only the theoretical notions but also choosing practical activities throughout the whole research process. It was necessary to take “Altheide’s 12 steps” model as a basic guideline. But I found that these 12 steps have been designed in a neat and linear order as a written guidance, though it was

not necessary to follow the exact sequence in the progress of my personal research, because in practice the research procedure became rather variable, for some cyclic work had to be done which initially involved small-scaled pilot studies within the twelve steps and the five stages. What is illustrated in the following is roughly the principle and general outline of the research procedure which was implemented on the basis of Altheide's 12-step-model in a normal order of the 5 stages from (a) to (b), (c), (d) and (e). Some alternation and variation of the procedure can be made in practice. Now let me move to the description of the research procedure involving the five stages and some of the steps.

3.3.1 Documents

Regarding an understanding of the word "document", I would like to refer to what Altheide claims,

A document can be defined as any symbolic representation that can be recorded or retrieved for analysis.[...] all research materials are potentially documents within the researcher's framework. All documents that are selected can be used as data, [...] document sources, ranging from TV, video, film materials, books and manuscripts, files and notes, and photographs and other visual records.

(1996: 8, 23)

The advertisements that were selected were used as the research materials and data sources and they can be called documents. The whole process of my research is closely related to such documents (i.e. the Chinese advertising); they are thought to be the core components in my research. Since the advertising discourse analysis is a text based research, at the first stage of finding, gaining access to the documents and selecting the documents, I needed to set up the target of the analysis which started early in 2007 when I began to design my proposal. At that time my first interest

was merely in the language forms and structures of Chinese advertising discourse due to my past experience as a manager in a PR company when I was engaged in advertising, and my present working post as a teacher of language in the university. This initial target turned out to be abstract and vague; however this helped me to focus my attention on the particular domain of the advertising discourse and directed me to search for the relevant documents. The documents to be found should include those of advertising as the object of my analysis, and those offering the special background knowledge of the Chinese advertising, linguistics, social development, economy and ideologies from which I expected to obtain information for supporting my argument and developing my work. My mode of analysis of dealing with these documents is to categorize them initially into three classes: primary, secondary and catchall documents, as suggested by Altheide:

- (a) Primary documents, which are the objects of analysis. Here in my research these are specific advertisements in journals.
- (b) Secondary documents, which are records about primary documents and other objects of research. These are materials relevant to the advertisements investigated, e.g. literature about advertising, notes, records and reports of other researchers' investigation concerned.
- (c) Catchall, which can be broad in its range, embracing all kinds of documents for understanding the objects of research, newspapers, magazines of the period from 1980s to the present time that contain the historical or contemporary political, economic and social background information, e.g. the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, the annual reports on the Chinese advertisements, the statistics of the household appliance industry issued by the Chinese authority and the published academic results of investigation and research into the public and social ideologies conducted by the Chinese researchers.

However, what I should reinforce here is that the documents included in (b) and (c) are equally as important as those in (a). They are also very necessary in order to provide a rich resource for decoding (a) documents from multiple perspectives. Another function of documents in (b) and (c) is that according to Pierce (2008: 89), seeking as many independent sources as possible allows researchers to triangulate these materials and get some more accurate and true evidence for their accounts and explanation. However, we should be also aware that in cultural research, which focuses on social reality, the object of knowledge is different from different perspectives, and the different points of view cannot be merged, into a single, "true" and "certain" representation of the object (Silverman 2008: 291). This implies that we cannot naively believe that triangulation will guarantee us to reach an overall true viewpoint and an accurately complete picture on the object to be studied, even though triangulation can be "best understood as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to any inquiry" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005 cited by Silverman 2008: 292).

For the convenient use of the documents and for obtaining further emerging data/material in a clear framework during my analysis, the arrangement of the documents into the three types at the early stage of my analysis was also necessary.

At first, my work concentrated on the secondary documents for better knowledge of discourse analysis, advertising discourse and case studies on advertising conducted by other scholars; meanwhile some primary documents were selected and dealt with in order to gain familiarity with the data. At the later stage of data analysis and explanation much of my effort was spent on selecting the final set of adverts for analysis. Nevertheless, I found that new kinds of documents had to be investigated at all stages

throughout the course of research for discovering and supplying fresh and valuable information.

3.3.2 Choosing the primary documents (source of data)

Investigating the appropriate documents for the initial knowledge of them and producing certain criteria for data collection was a necessary first step for my data analysis. Bearing in mind that “research questions help inform the appropriate unit of analysis” (Altheide 1996:24), I needed to locate the primary documents (i.e. the sample advertisements) according to what was planned to do in the research objectives of my proposal. Although to some extent, the objectives could be immature and more subjective, they became more specific than my initial interest mentioned above. I anticipated that I would continue to develop a set of more specific questions based on the research objectives and these questions should function as a practical guideline for the first stage of my research to select the primary sample documents and collect data through which I could also make myself more familiar with the advertising discourse. Basic questions I asked included the following:

1. What kinds of advertisements are likely to provide the possible property of ideology?
2. Where can I find these advertisements?
3. How is the ideological meaning expressed in these advertisements, particularly in terms of language and image?
4. Have the ideological properties shown some variation in different time periods?
5. Are these advertisements accessible now, and where are they?

With these basic questions of “what” and “how”, I started to search for advertisements and read published sources in English and Chinese including

the books, international academic journals on advertisements and marketing; the official documents of annual reports on advertising and marketing in China, cyber articles and essays concerning advertising in a broad context including the process of “how they are produced and consumed” (Fairclough 2006).

Finally, after becoming familiar with the context of the source of the documents my attention was focused on the advertisements of electrical household appliances since 1978, when the Chinese advertising resumed after “it had been lost from the Chinese people’s eyesight for a long time” (Ding 2009). The reasons for choosing the advertisements of electrical household appliances are explained in the following paragraphs.

Advertising in China has witnessed a radical change because of transitions of Chinese economy from a state-planned system to a market system since 1978. Civic products reflect the comprehensive development of a nation. Electrical household appliances have developed rapidly in China since 1978 due to the government policy of shifting the focus on the economic construction and the increasing demand of the Chinese consumers. “Meanwhile, the household appliance advertisements have been provoking the progress of the household appliance industry, through which we can also see the thirty-year-trajectory of this industry” (Huang 2012). Jiang and Dai (2002: ii) claim, “Since the 1980s of the 20th century, a massive amount of household appliance advertisements have been blowing in a warm and sweet manner showing us the elegantly designed happy family life.” With these advertisements of electric household appliances as the basic samples I anticipated that the analysis may be most likely to offer some of the significant ideological properties and their variation in different periods.

For my research, the Chinese household appliance magazines have been chosen as the source from which the sample data were to be collected. The reason for this is not only because they are one of the major components of

the mass media with “the colorful cover and interstitial ads, paper of good quality, elegant print and high standard of art which are beautiful, appealing and comfortable for the readers” (Chen 2006), but also because these magazines bear the characteristic of continuity, and since the early 1980s are available for chronological study. Therefore, it is most likely that the printed advertisements in magazines reflect the historic, or chronological growth and evolution of Chinese advertising in a rapidly changing economic and social milieu.

In selecting magazines, evaluation of their credibility is needed. The criteria of evaluative frame have been listed by Denscombe (2003: 213):

- length of existence
- a national title
- publisher
- clear reference of content

In addition, I found that availability is also one crucial criterion for selection. Within this frame, I made my choice of one of the Chinese magazines titled ***Household Appliance***, because this magazine can be seen to be consistent with the criteria suggested by Denscombe.

As introduced by the Household Appliance Magazine Agency (2014), ***Household Appliance*** was a specialized subject magazine published by the Chinese Household Appliance Research Institute which was directly administrated by the China Light Industry Association (before the late 1990s, it was called China Light Industry Ministry). This magazine focuses on enterprises, outstanding products, celebrities. It aims at leading fashion, pursuing humanization, lifestyle and dramatized uniqueness. It also manipulates consumption, cares about consumption and builds a bridge between enterprises, merchants and consumers. At present, the circulation has reached 600,000 copies which has been awarded as the perfect

magazine by the Chinese news and publication for many years.

The magazine was established in 1980. According to the editorial department of the Household Appliance Publisher, some volumes were printed in that year as intra-limited issue, but they were officially published for public readers through post offices in 1981. Therefore, in China most of the subscribers (including the National Library) began to buy the magazines in 1981. Although few copies of the magazines were printed in 1980, the working units were moved several times and the original staff of the editorial department have left the unit, now the editorial department does not have any of the copies printed in 1980. Its publication continues. The magazine once won the title of the "Perfect Popular Scientific Magazine" ranking the national class. In the 1980s-1990s *Household Appliance* included the content of advertising, academic reports, and the introduction of new electric products of China and foreign countries.

Another reason for choosing *Household Appliance* is that I was confident of affordable access to this magazine. To obtain copies I needed only to visit the library of my university (Beijing Language and Culture University) and the National Library located in Beijing. There is a complete series of *Household Appliance* from 1981 to 1999 in my university library. In this, the magazines found in my university can meet the criteria suggested by Denscombe (2003). This situation was more optimistic than that of the National Library, where there were more varieties of journals and magazines with household appliance advertisements, but I could hardly find any kind of magazine with household appliance advertisements in the complete series since 1981 to 1996. What I did find in the National Library was some copies available since 2000, therefore their continuity was questionable. It was also possible for me to search for information concerned on the internet. Economically, therefore the access in this case was convenient, and there was little cost for my self-paid personal research in gaining adequate

information.

Locating the appropriate documents for analysis was just the departure of the research on the printed advertisements. In order to have a broader and better knowledge of the objects for my study, I expanded my attention from primary documents to secondary documents, including works on advertising, marketing, sociology, philosophy, and visual studies. I also read political articles published in 1980s and 1990s in order to become familiar with the historical and social context of the advertising in different periods of time, for advertising is operating along with life style and fashion in the changing world.

Altheide (1996: 55) holds, "Because visuals contribute to the meaning and 'look' of information and content, it is important to have a strategy for analyzing photos and other visuals qualitatively." In this, we should not ignore that Williamson (1978) conducted a semiotic analysis of advertisements for decoding the underlying ideological and psychoanalytic values which was insightful and creative, although her approach is too abstract and vague for this research to follow. However, I decided to apply some of the semiotic concepts, to decode a photo or illustration in advertising seen as a "visual discourse" (Rose 2001: 137), along with this to spell out more of its meaning I combined this with verbal discourse analysis. For this, I started from the bottom and moved to the top within the semiotic framework, covering icon, index, and symbolic functions (Rose 2001: 78). I would follow the three analytical phases stated by Fairclough - that is, description, interpretation, explanation - to explore advertising discourse consisting of verbal and visual discourses at different levels without abandoning the critical track of ideological properties. I shall now move to describing the next stage of developing a protocol that lays a concrete ground for verbal and visual analysis.

3.3.3 Protocol development

The work at the second of Altheide's stages (b) involves listing items, variables for data collection, drafting a protocol (i.e. a list of categories, or variables that guide data collection from documents), data collection sheet, testing the protocol, revising the protocol, and refining it (Altheide 1996: 25). In order to make more valid and appropriate categories of the protocol, a few more advertisements were obtained from the magazine of *Household Appliance* since 1980. Further exposure to the documents (including the written and visual texts of the advertising discourse) allowed me to realize a number of basic elements which could be categorized as the parameters and a sample matrix for collecting data from the advertisements. They are, for example, headlines, body copy, models, props and settings associated with products. Although the categories were the basic elements they were generic to obtain more accurate and sufficient data, further sub categories should be formed. For this and to make the data collection more rational, I referred to the relevant documents (primary and secondary) of Dyer (1993), Altheide (1996), Rose (2001) which were concerned with visual images and I referred to other scholars' work (e.g. Fairclough 2006, Leech 1966, and the Chinese scholars, Liu, Pan et al. 2011) of linguistic elements. In the list below we see some of the general categories and subcategories which were included in the protocols of the visual image and verbal text. Because the space is limited, the categories shown in the following are just a small portion of the total protocol as an example. (see Tables 3.1 and 2; for the complete protocol categories see Appendix A.5)

Table 3.1 Visual discourse items

I. Actor					
A. Appearance	a. age	b. gender	c. ethnicity	d. hairsty.	e. body

Realization	20-30	Female	Chinese	Wave	Fully Clo.
B. Manner of human images	a. facial expression	b. eye contact	c. pose	d. clothing	e. cloth color
Realization	Smiling	To the viewer	Sitting with a magazine in her hands	One-piece dress	White
II. Props and Set.	A. Props	B. Settings			
Realization	Arm chairs	Living room			

Table 3.2 Verbal discourse items

I. Vocabulary	A. Words with experiential values	B. Words with relational values	C. Words with expressive values
Realization	Proper nouns selected from body copy	You /T,V forms	Adjectives / modifiers

II. Grammar	A. Grammar with experiential values	B. Grammar with relational values	C. Grammar with expressive values
Realization	Transitivity in headlines	Pronouns, nouns in headlines	Predicates p263 in the body copy / modality in headlines
III. Structure of the advertisements	Intertextuality		
Realization	Telling and selling		

The above categories of the protocol were mainly considered as descriptive items but they function as the basic parameters for further critical data collection and analysis. It was expected that through analysis of these categories some specific ideological themes could be revealed, such as: category a (Meaning I), category b (Meaning II), category c (Meaning III - ideological theme).

More questions and issues became apparent while the research progressed and more data was obtained: following Altheide's (1996) qualitative approach, the protocols have to be open-ended for necessary alternation to

add some more appropriate categories and to delete the unnecessary ones, so the protocols designed at the early time could be called the preliminary protocols. In practice, the protocol was revised several times in some respects. While developing the protocols and becoming more familiar with the materials, I found there were indeed a number of distinctive differences in the advertisements in different periods of time. It is necessary to divide them into different phases for comparative study. Neuman claims:

A historical-comparative researcher believes that historical reality has discontinuous stages or steps. He or she may divide 100 years of history into periods by breaking continuous time into discrete units or periods and define the periods theoretically. This is known as periodization.

(2010: 477)

It is assumed that the meanings of advertisements are associated with society. Their change in form and ideological value are likely to happen along with changes of society at different times. In other words, time periods can have some impact on the contents of advertising and vice-versa the advertising contents might display the marks of time periods which can be seen from language forms and functions, illustrations of products and ideological values. Therefore, a sample stratified by time periods will be also representative in terms of its development at different stages in relation to social change. Because one of the major concerns of the analysis is to identify the changes of ideological matters in the advertisements of different times, I needed to look at the data with reference to the historical context for exploring their ideological features in a certain period of time. Therefore, the advertisements and the protocols were periodized when the analysis was conducted.

The periodization of Chinese advertising and household appliance advertising described in the first chapter is based on the Chinese economic and political environments during the time of Chinese reform. I also took the

social and economic factors into consideration for periodization of my data analysis. But I had to think about the specific data collected, the objectives of my research and my capacity to deal with them. The data to be analysed qualitatively was selected from the period of 1981 to 1996. That would mean I should carry out in-depth analysis over a long time span and this will definitely cause difficulty for my analysis. Therefore, in combination with the social background and development of the household appliances, I decided to regulate the whole time span (1981-1996) by separating the years into three phases with a five or six-year-period for each phase. In this sense, it may be more convenient to make a comparative study between the three phases.

3.3.4 Sampling strategies for data collection

The purpose of research can affect sampling strategies. The major concern of this research was to explore the deep meaning (the ideological value) of advertising, rather than superficially to describe it for the sake of the advertising structure, but to spell out reflection of political factors and social change in the forms of language, and visual components of advertising discourse. In other words, to investigate how the way advertising is presented can reflect the changes of society and also the ideological values of commercial discourse. Therefore, appropriate sampling strategies needed to be selected for it.

Purposive sampling

The examples of advertisements chosen for this research are a purposive sample, not a random sample and this section sets out my reasoning for this decision. I do not think it is that easy to apply an ideal sampling strategy at the initial stage. Most researchers would prefer to conduct a random sampling which requires samples in large-scale surveys for quantitative data analysis. In this, the findings are able to represent the reality (or can be directly accessible to the message behind-the-scenes). But my research

that follows the CDA approach is not for generalization of the findings and it is not the ultimate purpose of this research to prove how representative my result is. What I am concerned with is whether the ideological values are embedded in the advertising discourse, how the ideological values are realized by images and words in the advertisements and also their variation during a particular period of time which might reveal the effect of social context on the advertisements. It is more likely that some special cases are unusual and may not be in a large-scale sample and the final results will not be adequately representative to the entire advertising discourses, because they are too complicated and subtle to be conceptually clarified through quantitative studies. Meanwhile, quantitative sampling is likely to misrepresent the original distribution of particular advertisements which are more informative than others. Also as the advertisements are unevenly distributed in the magazines, it is really difficult to conduct a fair probability sampling. This problem emerged when I chose the advertisements with human images from 1981 to 1996. Most of the advertisements with human images exist during the period of 1981-1995, and in some years the existence is zero.

Therefore, the more realistic and feasible sampling strategy I adopted is purposive sampling. As defined by Babbie (2003: 179), "Sometimes it is appropriate to select a sample on the basis of knowledge of a population and the purpose of the study. This type of sampling is called purposive or judgment sampling." (The term "population" used here in quotations can be interpreted as a sample of documents in my study.)

Purposive sampling can be seen as an early link between our assumptions and the data to be collected. Babbie (2003: 179) considers it as "a pretest, however, rather than a final study." Even some categories and items have been set already at the early stage which might be rather general or even incorrect for data collection, and the findings may not be meaningful to

represent the whole advertising; however, due to familiarization with the advertisements through document review, and protocol construction, we shall have more experience and knowledge of them, and will purposively choose those advertisements for a sample including those special instances which are likely to offer us information needed to achieve our purpose.

Sample size

In the above, we have talked about the choice of using qualitative analysis and sampling. However, the practical issue at the start of collecting is the size of the sample. One solution to this question is given by Silverman (2008: 309), "Indeed, one of the strengths of qualitative research design is that it often allows for far greater flexibility than most quantitative research designs." He also cited Mason's claim:

Theoretical or purposive sampling is a set of procedures where the researcher manipulates their analysis, theory, and sampling activities interactively during the research process, to a much greater extent than in statistical sampling.

(1996: 100)

Because the purposive sample for my analysis was not based on principles of randomness and probability, the sample size was relatively small due to the aims of the deep and rich qualitative data analysis. The sample was selected mainly from the Chinese magazines of *Household Appliance*. These advertisements lasted from 1981 to 1996 containing essential parts of advertising: illustrations, captions, and other elements but in different proportions in each phase. Some have graphic images and illustrations along with the written form of language, others do not.

In general a small-sized sample is more often used in qualitative research for intensive analysis. The optimum size for small samples is 15 (Pierce 2008: 58). There are other elements that also influence the choice of sample size,

such as time, and access to data. However, I quite agree with Silverman (2008: 309) that in the early stages we focus on a small part of the sample, and if time allows I hope I might use a wider sample for later tests of emerging generalization, which would be better for broadening a narrowed case-study when the research process advances. Therefore, the exact number of samples for the research was difficult to decide at the early stage. But one thing is certain that the sample frame at present covered the advertisements in *Household Appliance* from 1981 to 1996. Regarding the published issues of each year, from 1981 to 1984 six issues were published each year, and from 1985 to 1996 twelve issues were published each year. Counting only the selected magazines which include human images, the total number of the issues is 82. Each phase has the following number of advertisements which contain human images: 28 in 1981-1985, 18 in 1986-1990 and 35 in 1991-1996. The number of the data is calculated and their results in figures will be reduced into a percentage which is easy for a comparative analysis between the data of these different periods of time. The determining factor for my choice therefore became to include only those advertisements which contained such images in the period of 1981-1996.

3.3.5 Data collection

This work was undertaken as early as the start of my pilot analysis on a few advertisements in *Household Appliance* magazines of 1981 and 1982. Collecting data for qualitative analysis was one of the early activities even before developing the protocols. Based on the early work of literature review, background study of the Chinese society and ideologies, pilot analysis and developing protocols, a number of categories and items of protocols were set up for data collection and later analysis. But appropriate adjustments of protocol categories were also made during the course of data collection. Babbie (2003: 364) asserts, "At the very least, there are no cut-and-dried steps that guarantee success." It means frequent interaction between

researcher, data and categories.

Data coding and organization

Newman (2010: 460) claimed, "Coding data is the hard work of reducing large mountains of raw data into small, manageable piles. In addition to making the data manageable, coding allows a researcher to quickly retrieve relevant parts of it." While the amount of language properties for analysis is growing larger, some of the data need to be organized into conceptualized categories for an easy retrieval.

For this, I first conceptualized the raw data into certain themes (ideological meaning) according to their semantic and connotative meanings and categorized them. Then I developed a coding frame for the vocabulary and grammar, such as "the word of expressive values" and "grammar with expressive values" (Fairclough 1996). For illustration, some of the work can be seen in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3 Coded items and ideological themes

Code No.	Theme (ideol.)	Concrete concept
1	Advance	Prominence, efficiency, technology, Hi-tech, intelligence, novelty, excellence
2	Advantage	Efficiency, excellence, plenty, suitability, speed, convenience
3	Aestheticism	Beauty, colour, elegance, luxury
4	Prestige	Authority, entirety, excellence, experience, globalism, history, nationalism, popularity, qualification, status, quality, strictness, permanence, reliability, superiority, novelty, profit-making, perfection
5	Economy	Cheapness, energy-saving, low cost
6	Fashion	Recentness, novelty
7	Function	Specificity (single function), multi-function
8	Individuality	Arbitrariness, excellence
9	Passion	Benefit, comfort, happiness, satisfying, preference, pleasure, love
10	Quality	Excellence, permanence, reliability, safety
11	Scale	Abundance, completeness, largeness, plenty, small amount, mini-type
12	Service	Convenience, thoroughness, perfection,
13	Uniqueness	Nation, specialty,
14	Variety	Difference, completeness
15	Wealth	Benefit, luxury
16	Nature	Air, ozone
17	Human	Human environment, health

Since the activity of organizing and coding the material is related to the notions of things, conceptualization and coding are also “a process for understanding and discovery of patterns between the coded categories, social and conceptual issues” (Babbie 2003: 365). However, coding and organizing the categories can be a useful step to set up a retrieving system for data analysis, though it cannot automatically produce meanings by itself. It is also essential to reread the data and compare within and between coded categories of different periods of time to discover new concepts for data analysis.

3.3.6 Data analysis

Following the above mentioned stages, I arrived at the stage of data analysis which aims to deal with the data obtained from the sample advertisements of 1981-1996, and “seek to understand types, characteristics, and organizational aspects of the documents as social products in their own right, as well as what they claim to represent” (Altheide 1996: 42). The process of the analysis was carried out in the order of the visual advertising discourse first and verbal discourse second. In reality the work of data analysis had already penetrated each stage of my research in practice.

Visual data analysis

The analysis of the visual data in this part is conducted in three distinctive phases. They are, namely, the first phase of 1981-1985, the second phase of 1986-1990 and the third phase of 1991-1996. Within each phase, a number of human image-centered features were dealt with. These features were categorized according to those introduced by Dyer in the iconographic analysis (1993: 93) which could be “a useful checklist for exploring what things of humans might symbolize [...] [and] provides a good way of specifying in some detail how a visual image of humans produces certain signifieds” (Rose 2010: 80-82). These generic categories are: appearance, manner, clothing, props and settings - and also the profile of the

advertisements which I added for recognizing the products advertised. These were included in the protocols. Within each of the generic categories, are a number of subcategories.

For the visual data analysis, a set of activities were carried out, such as familiarizing myself with the visual materials, identifying and sorting the visual elements from the illustrations, classifying the elements according to the categories of the protocols, calculating the frequency of the elements to see which one appears to be the most significant or more significant for further critical analysis.

Through these, I figured out the meanings from and behind the visual images and drew up a meaningful outline of the advertisements in one particular phase. The procedure of the analytical stage of the data generally followed that of Fairclough's description of the data, interpreting the findings from the categories of each phase. Following the previous steps of description and interpretation, the next step of explanation took the forms of discussion and summary of the data in combination with the ideological, cultural and social concepts.

Verbal data analysis

Though the analytic steps suggested by Altheide (1996) are the basic ones to be followed in the visual data analysis and verbal analysis, there were some variations, especially in the verbal data analysis, due to the employment of the three-dimensional model suggested by Fairclough (2006). That is, apart from following the steps mentioned in Altheide's analytical procedure and also implemented in the visual data analysis, I conducted the sample advertising discourse analysis in three dimensions: textual, discursive and social. For this, at first the contents of the sample advertisements have been separated into textual and discursive sections. The former includes vocabulary and grammar analysis, and the latter the textual structure and intertextuality. Regarding the dimension of social

practice, "the aim is to map the partly non-discursive, social and cultural relations and structures that constitute the wider context of the discursive practice – the social matrix of discourse" (Fairclough 1992b: 237 cited by Jorgensen and Phillips 2008: 86). The major concern in this dimension was to consider the discourse as a social practice and put the analysis into a social and historical context. Its analytical framework involved not only linguistic and discursive theories because they are not enough to interpret its structure and variation subject to the social environment, but also the non discursive perspectives of ideology and culture which can formulate a "multiperspectival research framework" (Jorgensen and Phillips 2008: 86). It is in the verbal data analysis that the advertisements are analysed separately in the textual and discursive dimensions, but the findings are accounted for in the dimension of the broader social practice in which the issues concerning the ideological values and their changes are addressed.

Along with the generic approaches, such as CDA, protocol development and coding categories to the qualitative data analysis, some specific strategies were also employed. As suggested by Newman (2010), Max Weber's ideal type is used by many qualitative researchers. It is an artificial device for identifying the particular items contained in a certain advertisement, shaping the structure of the advertisement, interpreting the functions of the items and recognizing their ideological values on the one hand. On the other hand, the comparative study is conducted as a device to show the difference and similarity in the advertisements of different periods of time, from which we could see the specific characteristics which may reveal some ideological meanings and reflect a shift in society. The protocol was used in a way as an idealized device against which the advertisements could be compared and contrasted in analysis. In this, the protocol functioned as a benchmark; while it helped to show how a unique feature of an advertisement is shaped in one phase, it also showed how the different and similar features between

advertisements of different times developed. Then, I made a comparative analysis between the significant categories as well as those ordinary categories which could not be ignored and excluded between the different phases. In this, we might see the significant shift in the contents of verbal discourse from certain respects; this might reveal the salience of particular features in major social changes that should have taken place in the three time periods: 1981-1985 (the first phase), 1986-1990 (the second phase) and 1991-1996 (the third phase).

Summary

As stated above, the research intends to find out the ideological properties in the advertising discourse, and some relationship to the shifts of society in respect of culture, politics and economy from the Chinese household appliance advertising discourse. This can be reached through analysis of the visual images and verbal texts.

In this chapter I have presented the profile of the research design and methodology which is grounded in the theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis. I have adopted a qualitative analytical approach for my research which I think can help me conduct an in-depth examination of Chinese advertising discourse in different respects and especially in the ideological domain.

Regarding the contents for my research, I have undertaken the visual discourse and verbal discourse analyses. Because I have found that there was little introduction to the concrete methods and strategies in the critical discourse analysis, especially to advertising visual images, I have mainly employed the approaches suggested by Dyer (1993) and Altheide (1996) in combination with the principle of CDA to form an analytical framework and develop a protocol to deal with the visual discourse. I have also explained the protocol and strategies for the verbal discourse analysis in a critical perspective.

In general, the qualitative research has primarily followed Altheide's procedure as a model which consists of five stages and involves strategies and ideas suggested by other scholars. In this sense, the approach designed for my research can be called as a comprehensive and critical one. I do not think this chapter has covered all the details concerning every specific step and device of my work, but it highlights some major points of my procedure in developing the research design. It is, therefore, necessary for me to add more explanation to the data analysis in the following chapters. I now move to analysis of the advertising discourses in the next two chapters: visual discourse analysis and verbal discourse analysis.

Chapter 4

Analysis of Profiles and Visual Discourse

Introduction

This chapter analyses the data obtained from 82 advertisements from the period 1981-1996, with emphasis on visual advertising discourse and human images. Each of the five sections is concerned with a particular theme that runs across the three time periods of 1981-1985, 1986-1990 and 1991-1996: 1.the profiles of the advertisements, 2.the appearance of the actors, 3.their manner, 4.their clothing, 5.the advertisements' props and settings with reference to Dyer's categories in her iconographic analysis (1988: 93).

4.1 Profiles of advertisements

This section focuses on the advertised products, the contents of the advertisements and the colours of headlines and backgrounds. Analysis is conducted with reference to the historical background of the Chinese household appliance industry, Chinese cultural factors and ideological work.

4.1.1 The advertised products

Advertising is "something that is likely to affect most of us in a number of different spheres of our lives" (Vestergaard & Schroder 1985: author's preface). For this, advertising agents should find out what the demand of the possible consumers is, by surveying the market as well as designing and producing ads (Dyer 1993). That is, we assume that the products introduced into advertisements also reflect people's everyday needs and some changes in the social environment. This part is mainly concerned with the analysis and discussion of the products introduced into advertising discourse

collected from the sample advertisements. The products advertised in the three time periods are illustrated in the following sections (see Table 4.1) along with the social background in China.

Period 1: 1981-1985

Table 4.1 The advertised products in the first phase

Year	Items of products
1981	Fan, washing machine, heating cup, radio-recorder
1982	Fan, washing machine
1983	Hoover, refrigerator, washing machine, fan, radio-recorder
1984	Washing machine, fan, radio-recorder, hoover
1985	Table lamp, washing machine, fan, heating blanket, iron, electric cooker, microwave oven

Table 4.1 refers to ten products and of these washing machines and fans are advertised most each year. That suggests the fans as advertised products are more than any other appliance. Radio-recorders are advertised over four years. The number of refrigerators is low, and other products emerge only once in any particular year. According to the article, "Recall of the household appliance industry in the past 30 years" (qq.com 2011/8/29/16:1) in the 1980s when the household appliance industry started from scratch, the products were in short supply; refrigerators and washing machines were in

such high demand that their production was even mentioned in the annual governmental reports. They were still advertised in order to make them known and to offer more information to possible consumers who wished to make their choice for purchase.

In addition, other electric products advertised for Chinese consumers were radio-recorders, table lamps, heating blankets, electric irons, hoovers. Most of these except radio-recorders can be classified as "labour-saving, illuminating, cooling and heating" products, functioning as the "daily necessities, increasing the pace of life, and expanding entertainment" (Jiang and Dai 2002: 2). But the number of products concerned with the function of expanding entertainment was fewer. There are only a small number of radio-recorders shown in two of the advertisements.

Therefore, the products advertised reveal some facets of the reality of the market in the early 1980s. First, it reflects the fact that the Chinese household appliance industry was at the initial stage and its production was administered under the tight control of the government-planned economic system rather than the market economy. The variety of products and quantity of production were both small, "consumers must have had coupons for buying household appliances" (Glass.hc360.com 2011/8/29/16:1), and it is hard to say that the products advertised reflect the demand of consumers, for the consumers had to buy what the factories produced and the power of choice for production and sale of products was in the hands of the government and state-owned factories. Secondly, "the mode of production is the basis of lifestyle" (Liu 2006: 128), lower production of household appliances affects not only the people's choice and purchasing power but also their lifestyle. So most of the advertised products were primarily made available to satisfy people's daily basic needs, namely for labour-saving, cooling the air and warming the body rather than to meet

their spiritual and emotional demands.

Period 2: 1986-1990

Table 4.2 The advertised products in the second phase

Year	Items of products
1986	Iron, lamp, heating blanket, fan, parts of radio-recorder
1987	Fan, refrigerator, washing machine, heating blanket, electric keyboard, dishwasher, fan
1988	Electric keyboard, stereo radio-recorder, refrigerator,
1989	Washing machine, mosquito killer
1990	Refrigerator (including official's visit to a factory)

As shown in Table 4.1, there are 11 varieties of electric appliances in the second phase. New products include a dishwasher, electric keyboards, and a mosquito killer, none of which had appeared in the sample advertisements of the first phase. More types of refrigerator, including the factories that produced them with the assembly lines, and fewer electric fans are advertised than in the first phase.

The results listed in Table 4.2 suggest that in the second phase the varieties

of advertised products increased in number; most major commodities functioned as labour-saving, illuminating, cooling and heating devices for people's daily necessities as did the products in the first phase. But in the advertisements in the second phase products for "expanding entertainment" (Jiang and Dai 2002: 2) in people's leisure time were introduced: the electric keyboards (the electric pianos) and stereo radio-recorder with the brand name "Yan Wu", or dancing swallows, and two big loud-speakers for playing music. In addition to informing the public of new products being introduced to the market, according to Chinese scholar Liu Hong (2006: 96), advertising functions as a director, steering receivers to accept the products, change their ideological values and rebuild their cognition of the world. The advertisers also consciously or unconsciously foreground a particular lifestyle in order to create consumer's desire for purchasing the products. For instance, the electric keyboards and stereo radio-recorders suggest a lifestyle that is desirable to consumers, as musical instruments bring emotional and spiritual comfort and enjoyment. This goes beyond the practical level of time-saving devices such as a washing machine, temperature controls such as a fan and electric blanket. Furthermore encouraging children to play the electric keyboard was popular in China in the 1980s because parents saw this as a part of children's early education.

The other new products such as refrigerators with new brand names which were introduced in greater numbers than in the first phase that would present consumers with images of daily life and go beyond meeting the basic needs that a fan and an electric cup for warming food would do in the first phase. The refrigerator stores food and kept it fresh throughout the year. The supply of new refrigerators enabled people to keep food at home longer and saved them time previously spent on shopping.

China has long been a state-planned economy, even in the era of the market

economy, “around 1984, the designated production of household appliances was made by the Chinese government and the designated production license issued by the government was required for producing refrigerators, washing machines and air-conditioners” (qq.com 2011/8/9/16:1). The Chinese government played an important role in the Chinese industry domain, and the increased number and variety of products reflect its influence. It was reported (qq.com2011/8/9) that in 1983, according to the forecast about market demand and changes made by the State Council of China, the Light Industrial Ministry of China conducted the first large-scale investigation into the production and sale of electric appliances. The report found that governmental intervention had stimulated more than 40 Chinese factories to import more than 60 types of technology and equipment from advanced countries, such as Japan, the UK, France, Italy and Australia.

Therefore, in the body of an advertisement in 1987 is the statement, “Our factory is one of the big washing machine factories appointed by the Light Industrial Ministry with the Chinese and international advanced assembly lines.” This implies that government power penetrated and affected the contents of advertising. On the one hand, the advertisers employed government authority for promoting products, yet on the other, without government action and policy the Chinese factories could hardly introduce foreign technology and assembly lines by themselves in the 1980s. Therefore, external environmental factors (e.g. the political and governmental effects and production) cannot be ignored in any analysis.

Although it is true that the government had a political impact on production, and that factories had an impact on advertising, peoples’ lives are affected beyond the advertisement: as Marx and Engels claim (1972), “Productive types of material life restrict the whole process of social life, political life and spiritual life”. That is to say, the original influence on consumers is not only

from advertising but also from the production side, and from the government officials who make decisions and control policy concerning national economy and production.

Period 3: 1991-1996

Table 4.3 Advertised products in the third phase

Year	Items of products
1991	Mould, testing equipment
1992	Air conditioner, equipment for production
1993	Foot heater, air conditioner controller, temperature controller, compressor protector, starter
1994	Washing machine, freezer, factory, equipment,
1995	Controller company, Karaoke amplifier,
1996	Controller, detoxification device, station converter, washing machine, company, parts, mobile phone, etc.

Table 4.3 lists about 20 products, including the companies advertised. Among the many new products of the third phase are TV remote control, station converters, foot heaters, mobile phones, Karaoke amplifiers and detoxification devices. Washing machines although advertised previously,

have a new technology and functions. Of these products the remote controllers of TV appear most frequently in the advertising.

Compared with the previous phases, the variety and diversity of household appliances in the third phase increased significantly, suggesting a considerable improvement. Customer demand was satisfied with the greater range, and the new products with their supporting equipment and devices served the specific needs of individual consumers.

4.1.2 Contents and ideological work of the advertisements

Contents

According to Wells and Burnett (2006: 390), the contents of advertisements consist of two major copy elements: display copy and body copy (or text). The display copy includes the elements that readers view first, such as headlines, subheads, call-outs, taglines, and slogans, designed in larger sizes than the body copy to get the viewer’s attention. The body copy includes the text of the advertisement’s message and captions designed to be read and absorbed (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Advertising contents

1.Display copy
Headline, Subheads, Call-outs, Taglines, Slogans
2. Body copy
Call to action (signatures)
Name, Address, Telephone / Telegram

The table shows the normal format of an advertisement, including contents and their arrangement in an advertising format. This section takes a more critical view of the contents at the level of social practice by analyzing both the superficial level of content and the implicit ideological work which underlies and is mixed in with the contents: this works through the contents in three dimensions, "building relations, images and the consumer" (Fairclough 1994). This approach to discourse analysis encourages recognition of the contents at the level of ideological work, using the concepts of broader social practice, relations and exposing the "marketisation of discourse" (Jorgensen and Phillips 2008: 72). Below are the notions of the three dimensions of ideological work and the contents which are likely to be related to the ideological work.

Ideological work

Building relations

Advertising discourse aims to give the public information about products in what is said to be a one-way dialogue from sellers to buyers, both unknown to each other although their relationship is apparently fixed. "Advertising discourse embodies an ideological representation of the relationship between the producer/advertiser of the product being advertised and the audience, which facilitates the main ideological 'work'" (Fairclough 1994: 202). The role of the former is producing and selling, while that of the latter is reading and buying. However it is essential for sellers to contact customers. An effective way of doing this, for instance, is to draw upon the headlines and subheads in the display copy and taglines and slogans in the body copy.

Building images

The ideological work of building images is persuasive, intending to make potential consumers aware of the merits of products and the superiority of their producers, and to stimulate their interest and desire to buy the commodities. Therefore, the body copy, particularly the text and caption with the illustrations, is designed by advertisers who aim to stimulate the readers or consumer's desire for having and using the products with the prospect of a kind of luxurious life, by generating a perfect image of the products and so a fantastic picture of the lifestyle associated with them. For the purpose of persuasion, as Fairclough (1994:205) suggests, "Advertisements get their audiences to draw upon ideological elements in their MR in order to establish an 'image' for the product being advertised." On the whole, consumers prefer a comfortable, convenient and happy life which can possibly be traced in the advertisements. It is likely to be realized by having (i.e. buying) products of good quality, made with modern technology, imported components, efficiency, with an elegant appearance and certain social advantages. These attributes will be dealt with in Chapter 5 which consists of a verbal analysis of the expressive values of vocabulary and clauses. Normally, the advertising discourse presents a positive image of products related to a fantastic picture of a lifestyle in the body copy and illustrations, which seems to be accessible to anyone who buys them. The process of generating a good image of products and lifestyle is ideological, because by "leading people to acknowledge and pursue this lifestyle, advertising is helping to legitimize contemporary capitalism" (Fairclough 1994: 206). Although the term "capitalism" is negatively perceived in China and Chinese people avoid using it, the desire to increase life quality and achieve a well-off and modern lifestyle (the Chinese version "xiao kang") in the Chinese market economy is becoming recognized as both a universal and legitimate one.

Building the consumer

Another “major ideological work of advertising was constructing subject positions for consumers as members of consumption communities” (Fairclough 1994: 206). That is, advertising not only introduces products but implicitly aims to persuade people to take the “desired action” (Jefkins 1985) and to buy them. For this, advertisers try to convert the targeted audience into consumers throughout the advertising discourse. Advertisers do not like to impose themselves on their audience for selling commodities. At the bottom of the body copy are the “signatures” (Arens and Schaefer 2007: 250); that is, the names, telephone numbers, telegram codes of factories, agencies and companies for further contact and purchase.

In analyzing advertisements selected from the three periods the contents will be first identified, and then examined with reference to Fairclough’s three ideological dimensions. Within these two parts of analysis some comparison between the periods will be made to reveal changes within specific ideologies.

4.1.2.1 Contents of the three periods

Period 1: 1981-1985

The contents of advertisements from this period consist of a number of copy elements that are listed in the tables below. These elements have been collected and analyzed based on the visual and verbal contents of the display copy and the verbal contents of the body copy. The main contents consist of the headline, subheading, caption, tagline, body copy, name, address, telephone, telegram, agency, bank, and bank account.

Detailed description of each content including its frequency appears in Appendix A.1 Table A.1.1. The headlines and contact details, such as name, address, telephone and telegram codes of enterprises, are primary elements

of the advertisement.

Period 2: 1986-1990

As with the second phase the advertising content consists of the copy elements of the verbal contents of both display and body copy.

The total of copy elements is 82 in the sample advertisements of the second phase. Detailed description of the content of each, and its frequency, appears in Appendix A.1, Table A.1.2. The categories of agency, subhead, bank and bank account are absent in these advertisements, but with the notice that the information concerning agency, bank account and payment can be found inside the magazines. The fact is that headlines and the names of enterprises have greater frequency than any other elements; it is assumed that in addition to building relations with viewers advertisers would like to highlight the image of products and enterprises overtly, hiding their commercial identity as sellers inside the magazines.

Period 3: 1991-1996

The copy elements of the textual structure are the verbal contents of the advertising display copy and body copy. They are the same as in the previous two phases, but with the addition of slogan, postcode, fax number, contact manager and sales agent.

The total number of copy elements is 294. A detailed description of the frequency of each content, appears in Appendix A.1, Table A.1.3.

Discussion

In all three phases, the higher frequency of headlines, names and addresses of producers than other categories, confirm that these remain essential and

primary contents of the advertisements. The headline "serves as the opening to the ad" which tells the reader what is being sold on the one hand and on the other, ideologically sets up relations between advertisers, producers and readers and consumers. The name and address "at the end of an ad [...] encourages people to respond and gives information on how to respond" (Well and Burnett 2006: 391). The other essential part of advertising discourse is the body copy which is on average higher than other elements following the headline, name and address. This part is more concrete and dedicated to "explaining the idea or selling point" (Well and Burnett 2006: 391).

Although each of the advertising discourses in the three phases generally contains the same basic components such as the headline, body copy and closing parts, differences between them can be noticed from the number of contents. In the first two phases, the numbers are 12 and 8 respectively, while the number is 17 in the third phase. This increase is attributable to new element like "price" and new ways of making business contact like "fax", "liaison", "sales representative". The change of contents suggests that progress in business communication comes from moving on from a single mode of marketing, such as agency, as the fax began to replace the telegram, and the traditional mode of communication, which was much reduced in the third phase at 3.1 percent compared with the first two at 13.1 percent and 10 percent. The rapid development in the household appliances market caused these changes in its sales pattern. The manufacturers set up diverse sales channels rather than a single and direct link with the customers, such as giving the factory name, address, phone and telegram numbers. In relying on an intermediary service to deal with customers, manufacturers found many advantages both for their routine production as well as research and development for new products. Therefore, while the increased categories in the third phase reflects the progress of China's

market economy on the one hand, on the other the relationship between producers and consumers in terms of the social point of view changes. These changes largely determine the advertising content. Advertisers can create more persuasive and fantastic advertisements, but when it comes to "Call to action" (Wells & Burnett 2006:391) they must deliver factual information, such as the company's address, telephone number, liaisons, agency (Chen 2009: 343).

4.1.2.2 Ideological work of the advertisements

Building relations

When elements in the display copy are noticed and read, a closer relationship and active social identities between independent producers and readers can be established as relevant addressors and addressees in the advertising discourse. The advertising discourses of the three phases are examined in the ideological perspective of building images in this section.

Period 1: 1981-85

The display copy elements (headlines, subheads, taglines) are used for attracting readers' attention and carrying out ideological work for building relations with customers (see Appendix A.1, Table A.1.1b). The total frequency of these three contents is 20.7 percent, suggesting a high level of ideological work in advertising discourse.

Period 2: 1986-1990

The frequency of the elements used for carrying out the ideological work of building relations is slightly higher than the first phase, at 24 percent (see Appendix A.1 Table A.1.2b). This is realized by the headlines (excluding subheads) and taglines for "attention-getting" (Jefkins 1985: 133),

functioning as a bridge to connect the different discourse participants.

Period 3: 1991-1996

In the third period, the elements for the ideological work of building relations are 14.6 percent which indicates that the proportion of ideology and ideological work is not as high as in the other two phases.

Summary

It is quite obvious that the proportions of the ideological work for building relations are inconsistent being 20.7 percent and 24 percent in the first two phases, and only 14.6 percent in the third. This indicates that the emphasis on building relations shifted to the third dimension of the ideological work, that is, building customers. It seems that more information concerning producers and purchase of products is presented in this dimension of the third phase.

Building images

Following the ideological work of formulating relations with the display copy, the body copy further develops the message of the headlines by detailing “the features, benefits, and utility of the product or service” (Arens and Schaefer 2007: 248). This includes the products and enterprises for building positive images and stimulating the reader’s desire and encouraging their belief. In this section, the advertising discourses of the three phases are examined from the ideological perspective of building images.

Some examples of verbal expressions in the body copy of the sample advertisements are designed for embellishing the products in three aspects: features, benefits and utility. The given words are examined in detail in the sections on words of expressive and experiential values in Chapter 5 on

verbal discourse analysis. As shown in the section on words of expressive and experiential values, the words in each period may reflect the reality of the Chinese household appliance market.

Period 1: 1981-85

The body copy is the main part, often following the headlines and subheads in advertising discourse. With the caption, the text comprises 17.2 percent of the elements in advertisements. Although the proportion of the text and caption in the body copy is lower than the contents of display copy and the closing part of the advertisement, the "Body copy covers the features, benefits, and utility of the product or service" (Arens and Schaefer 2007: 248). Through the contents, the body copy is used not only to deliver a useful message about the commodities (products and service) but also to stimulate audience's desire and create their belief in the commodities. Mostly information about the commodities is positively presented by advertisers and producers for building fantastic images for sales promotion. The following are some of the example contents of the body copy for building images of products which are presented by me in italics.

Features: *beautiful shape, imported parts, perfectly home-made engine, long durability, S&T Achievement Award of Shanxi Province, the new product award of the Light Industrial Ministry, world famous products.*

Benefits: *lower price, time saving.*

Utility: *easy operation.*

Under the three general categories of features, benefits and utility, some themes realized by the specific contents are designed to make a good impression on audience. The themes are: *beauty, worship of foreign products, nationalism, quality, scale, advantages, authority, globalization,*

economy, and easy use.

Period 2: 1986-1990

The proportion of the ideological work for building images of 1986-90 consists of 20 percent (caption, body text). The following are example contents (advertising expressions presented in italics by me) of the body copy for building images of products.

Features: *the grand prize signed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, the technology and equipment introduced from foreign countries, the ideal dish washer, with the title issued by the Light Industrial Ministry, state-owned machinery factory, which attended the large-scaled international fair.*

Benefits: *the patron saint for the eyes, offer Chinese medical health care, high benefits, reach the same standard as the Japanese products, offer you (clients) a sweet dream, a warm family.*

Utility: *freezing fast.*

The work for building images is ideological, the captions and body copy introduce the products' merits in order to convince readers that the advertised products are the best. The images include themes of: *authority, power, globalization, worship of foreign products, advanced technology, modernity, nationalism perfection, state ownership, care, health, economy, fantasy, family, efficiency, harmony, passion.*

Period 3: 1991-96

The ideological work of building images represented by the body copy and captions amounts to 15.7 percent.

Features: *Recommended by the Chinese Household Apparatus Association,*

with the international gold reward, sophisticated technology, powerful scientific research ability, luxurious, the human brain fuzzy technology automatic washing machine, multi-functional remote control, parts of joint-venture, welcomed by the consumers all over the country, mini-computer remote control, recommended by China Light Industrial Ministry, Japanese Panasonic microphone, Ozone super power, human environment.

Benefits: *the small investment, the best choice, Good assistant, a three-year guarantee, lifetime maintenance, 5 percent discount, super value enjoyment, door-to-door maintenance,*

Utility: *all-weather private secretary, move about easily and quickly, intelligent phone.*

The positive images realized by the ideological themes include: *authority, uniqueness, luxury, wealth, hedonism, intelligence, environment, individuality, consumer-centered, economy, perfection, reliability, advantages, easiness, advanced technology.*

Discussion

As the data (see Appendix A.1, Tables A.1.1, 2, 3) show, the difference in the proportion of ideological work in building images between the three phases is clear. The proportion of ideological work in the first and second phases is 20 percent and 17.2 percent respectively, while the third phase is the lowest at 15.7 percent. These proportions reflect the input of ideological work in building images that covers several different themes; these diversify more from the first to the second and third phases. Some changes are significant; for example in the first and second phases the theme of "worshiping foreign products and imported goods" is seen as an advantage.

In the third phase, by contrast, are the themes of “uniqueness”, “luxury”, “wealth”, “hedonism”, “intelligence”, “environment”, “individuality” and so on. The ideological work of building images with ideological themes is a process involving simplicity concerning the products to complexity that is required for a broader range of clients with more specific demand.

The verbal expressions included in the three categories of “features”, “benefit” and “utility” are used to build up images of the products in order to convince potential consumers. The work for generating good images of products is apparently ideological at two levels: the functional level identified as image building for products and the social and cultural layer of positive images of the properties of Chinese people’s current lives since economic reform. While advertisers aimed to impose the positive attributes of products on consumers to convince them they were worth buying and so meet their needs, they also aimed to stimulate consumer’s desire, and encouraged them to purchase these goods.

Meanwhile, building images apparently must form the scenario of a fashionable and modern style of life in order to justify the use of such good products, and this kind of life style and quality might neatly fit into the ideological notions of “adhering to the policies of reform and opening to the outside world”, “spiritual and material civilization” and “To accelerate socialist modernization” (Deng 1994: 15).

From the analysis, it also appears that the ideological work of building images and elements realized by the contents of captions and body copies shows some differences over the three periods, which might reflect changes in social reality. The household appliance sector in the early 1980s was developed at the initial phase of small-scale production and single types as Huang Mi (2012) maintains that the production of the household appliances was manufactured only in some state-owned enterprises. The technology

was backward, the parts and assembly lines for TV sets, washing machines and refrigerators relied on imports from Japan and Italy. Due to the short supply of commodities, the consumers had no choice of products, but would buy what the producers sold in shops. Therefore, the market competition was not fierce, and the advertising strategy was rather simple with limited information. Advertisers would concentrate on publicizing the functions, quality, appearance and easy functionality of products. In order to gain more credit for the products, they would often say that their enterprises and products had won the prizes offered by the province, ministry and nation and that products had been equipped with the imported parts from foreign countries. So consumers' benefits from the products were not merely from lower consumption of time or of electric power. The characteristics of the images were based on "the instrumental functions of products" (Chen 2011: 127) and reflected the influence of governmental power over consumers. This suggests that people's ideological values in the era of government-planned economy remained dominated by the belief that "When something is said to be good by the government, it is good" (Yang 2006: 17), even though Deng Xiaoping, in the third session of the eleventh Chinese Communist Party Conference, called for the liberation of peoples' minds.

Things were different in the late 1980s. When Chinese economic reform and the commercial economy developed substantially, enterprise was more active, living standards increased, and the marketing of all commodities was robust (Yang 2006: 34). Innovation was undertaken in Chinese advertisements after a large number of foreign enterprises entered China, and new types of advertisements opened the eyes of the Chinese people (Ding 2009: 6). Apart from the rational instrumental functions which were commonly adopted in the early 1980s, the emotional strategy of appealing to the ideological values of happiness within the family, and care about the

consumer's health and sweet dreams emerged in the late 1980s (Yang 2006: 43, Ding 2009: 16, Chen 2011: 127).

According to Huang (2012) in the 1990s China witnessed the rapid growth of household appliances. In addition to a plentiful supply of colour TV sets, washing machines and refrigerators, small household appliances such as microwaves and hoovers were produced and sold to satisfy the specific demands of individual consumers. More joint-venture enterprises were formed and created big challenges for domestic enterprises through their successful financial operation and strategy for promoting brand-names of products. The newly adopted brand-name strategies by means of advertising led the trend of consuming culture and fashion. Ding (2009: 17) maintains that on the one hand, imported products with the western brand-names which employed advertisements as the carrier entered China with the western consuming ideology. It reinforced the competition between Chinese national brand-names on one hand, and exotic brand names, on the other, which combined Chinese, European and Japanese cultures.

The sample advertisements whose contents were constructed during the 1990s involved high, sophisticated technology, joint ventures, consumer-centered trends, hedonism (i.e. leisure lifestyle), intelligence, the environment, individuality, and nationalism. By these means new products were embedded with positive and ideal images, designed to "induce consumers to consume the advertised products" (Ding 2009). The ideological work of building images through ideological themes underwent a process from simplicity concerning products, (e.g.) "beautiful shape", "easy operation") to complexity relevant to the broader scale (e.g. "harmony", "luxury", "human environment", "intelligence", "hedonism", "consumer-centered").

Building the customer

The more crucial ideological work of building the customer can be evidenced by the contents at the end of advertisements. The closing part delivers the message of the corporate agency and producer's name, address, telephone and telegram numbers, bank and bank account. These require "consumers to do something and tells them how" (Arens and Schaefer 2007: 250). This section is concerned with the data analysis of the ideological work of building the customer in the advertising discourses in the three phases.

Period 1: 1981-85

As shown by the data results (see Appendix A.1 Table A.1.1b) the contents in the closing part amount to 62.2 percent of the total advertisement suggesting that this is the largest proportion of the ideological work for building the consumers.

Period 2: 1986-90

The closing part of the copy elements consisting of the corporate agency and producer's names, addresses, telephone numbers, and telegram codes have a much higher frequency of 55 percent (see Appendix A.1, Table A.1.2b) than the other parts of the advertisements in the second phase, though it is a little less than in the first phase; this indicates that building the consumer was still crucial and required more attention of the producers.

Period 3: 1991-1996

The results of the data (see Appendix A.1, Table A.1.3b) show that the features for building the customers in the closing part of the advertisements have a much higher frequency (68.7 percent) than the other copy elements, indicating that building the consumer became an even more significant dimension of ideological work in this phase.

Discussion

Although the contents of building consumers are not as inspiring and expressive as those for building images, they are more factual and essential. They are, "Direct messages usually end with a call to action with instructions on how to respond" (Wells and Burnett 2006: 394). The frequency of the body copy elements for encouraging action is significantly high in the advertisements of each phase (i.e. 62.2 percent, 55 percent, and 68.7 percent respectively). In a narrow sense, these concrete instructions for further business contact at the closing stage of the advertising discourses exposes how advertisers convert readers and addressees into potential customers for buying their products.

From a broader point of view, there is confirmation of Fairclough's comment (1994: 206) that, "The major ideological work of advertising was constructing subject positions for consumers as members of consumption communities". The work for generating customers can be also understood as an ideological process throughout the formulation of advertising discourse, from the setting up of relations with readers from their first glance, offering positive product images for consumer interest, values and tastes, to the final stage, of treating readers as potential consumers. Thus, as Fairclough points out:

In the process, other memberships are likely to be diminished; the great loser has arguably been communities of production – the social classes, and particular fractions and sections of social classes (such as craft communities, or trade unions).

(1994: 207)

This diminishing of membership of other communities leads to the

foregrounding of the relation between producers and consumers, by calling on potential consumers to consider how they can keep in touch with producers. This whole process from the starting point to the closing part is consumption-oriented. Even some of the messages about production (e.g. assembly lines, working environment) and producers (e.g. workers, engineers and government officials) were delivered as props for building up the positive images of their products.

4.1.3 Colours of headlines and backgrounds

4.1.3.1 Ideological work of the colours

Normally, headlines in advertisements are located in a prominent space and printed in a larger font than other content. Furthermore the colours of words and their background are important elements in attracting attention, and forming the relations between advertisers, producers and readers.

Regarding the function of colours of words, Chen Peiyi (2006: 26) said, "The purpose of colour words designed in the advertising discourse is to increase expressivity, strengthen the appeal of the layout, and pursue the beauty and comfort." Besides setting up relations, colours also reflect cultural values that transform certain messages for readers, addressees and possible consumers.

Period 1: 1981-85

Setting up relations

For the ideological work of setting up a relation between advertisements and viewers, one device commonly seen is to make the headlines more attractive. Features of the display copy such as subheadings, taglines, and slogans usually appear in larger font size, situated in the leading position

against contrasting background colours, which look catchy and are easily recognized at first glance. Through these means a kind of social relation (i.e. between addressor and addressee, producer and possible consumer) is built up (see Appendix A.1, Table A.1.4).

Cultural elements

Colours of words in headlines and of backgrounds in the advertising discourses in the first phase have ideological meanings related to the colours of Chinese culture. Colours include red, blue, and black, the basic key colours in China, symbolizing fire, wood and water. Other colours are green, symbolizing spring; orange, expressing feelings of care and motherhood; and brown as a background colour meaning mildness and moderation. Together these suggest a natural vitality, emotion and peace.

Period 2: 1986-90

Setting up relations

For easy recognition of the display copy elements, particularly the headlines, a contrastive design of colours was adopted. The colours of the headlines and their backgrounds form striking colour patterns (see Appendix A.1, Table A.1.5).

Cultural elements

The colours used by the headline words are red, white, yellow and blue with brown and grey in the background. In Chinese culture, white stands for elegance; yellow for earth and power; and grey reflects emotional depression, perplexity. In this period there is little variety of colours and those used appear monotonous.

Colours of Period 3: 1991-96

Setting up relations

For catching attention and setting up relations, the colours of headline words in the advertisements contrast with the background colours (see Appendix A.1, Tables A.1.4.5.6).

Cultural elements

The colours in the headlines are red, white, yellow, blue, black, green, pink, and gold. In Chinese culture, pink means love and female beauty, and gold implies luxury, glory, power and influence. These colours of the headlines contrasted with those background colours (e.g. purple, orange, pink, white, grey, blue and black) suggest romance, wealth, pluralism and tolerance.

Discussion

Although the printed magazine does not have sound effects, the colours of words and backgrounds are one of the major devices for the purpose of expressing themselves and making themselves attractive. As defined above (and shown in Appendix A) the colours used in headlines and backgrounds, show in their arrangement a pattern of contrast that will attract viewers' attention and to set up relations between producers, readers and possible consumers, because "The first step for the success of an advertisement is to draw one's attention" (Pang 2011: 65). There is no major ideological difference between the advertising techniques of the three periods, in building up relations by using colour contrast and a large font size.

However, the result of the analysis reveals ideological implications in the types of colour used for the headlines and their background. In the first two phases, especially the second phase, the range of colours was narrower than

in the third phase.

Another significant change occurs in the third phase when colours such as gold, purple and pink, which transmit certain ideological meanings, are adopted. As Sutton and Whelan claim (2004) gold in combination with green and black can suggest richness and ability, purple is associated with wealth, royalty, luxury and emotion, and pink, the most feminine colour, with nurturing and compassion. Sutton and Whelan emphasize purple as (2004: 167) “the colour [...] most often used to denote products or services aimed at women”. Besides the ideological values of the colours themselves, the difference in varieties of colour between the first two phases and the third implies that the mind of Chinese people had been opened and their vision expanded. They now designed colours not simply to catch viewers’ attention, and initiate relations between producers, addressors, sellers and readers, addressees and buyers, but also to make them experience the values of wealth, luxury and diversity, or emotions of romanticism, feminism and glamour.

4.2 Visual Discourse

4.2.1 Appearance

The human image is one of the most significant features in the advertisements, and can provide clues for exploring ideological values and changes over the three time periods. The analysis includes the elements of appearance, manner, clothing, and relevant props and settings. There are sub-categories for appearance: age, gender, ethnicity, and hairstyle; for manner: facial expression, eye-contact and pose, for clothing: style, textile, cloth colour and so on.

4.2.1.1 Age, gender, ethnicity

Age is an essential component of the human image to be considered in the analysis. The human images of certain ages in advertisements can be based on a number of factors, such as for whom the products are sold, and what age group of images can make a good impression on possible consumers. Since household appliances are produced and sold to families that have different age groups, the need to make a good impression with a certain group of images is stronger. Dyer claims (1993: 97), "Research indicates that the age range of people in ads is typically narrow – the preferred age of the models/actors is between 18 and 35. Particularly where women are the subjects of ads, the emphasis is on youth".

It is commonly seen that more female images are used in advertisements than male. There might be some special reasons for admen to choose women as the dominant image: beautiful young women (aged 20s-30s) attract the audience's eye and establish a connection between readers and products. Weitz (2010: 221) points out, "The power to attract a man [...] is not the same as the power to earn a living independently". Even though a woman model can function as a powerful image in the advertisement, attracting readers' attention at least for a while, it does not necessarily mean they are independent in the society. Berger (1972: 47) also holds, "this ideal is a passive one, controlled by the Male Eye: Men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at" (cited by Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 81).

The ethnicity of the human image also functions as a variable to indicate the degree of acceptance of western human images in Chinese advertisements. Different degrees of Chinese and foreign images in the advertisements appear. For instance, in the first period the national identity of all human images is Chinese (100 percent) suggesting that images of non-Chinese people were not encouraged in Chinese advertisements. The following

section presents the ideological themes of the three elements of age, gender and ethnicity (see Appendix A.2, Tables A.2.1,2,3).

Period 1: 1981-1985

Youth

The subject images in these advertisements are women in their 20s (68 percent) and 30s (26 percent), and include some teenagers (4 percent). The very high frequency of their appearance confirms Dyer's claim. Images of older people do not appear in the advertisements.

Femininity

There is a large proportion of female images at 81 percent, while images of males are only at 18 percent; most of these are only in the company of women.

Inequality

Women in the advertisements are usually shown as housewives doing washing, and ironing. Men are husbands, engineers, and administrators. They go out to work and the women stay at home.

Period 2: 1986-1990

Youth, the middle-aged and above

Young women and couples are the main images in the advertisements. But the middle-aged and upper middle-aged are also shown in an advertisement of 1990 as the governmental officials visiting the household appliance company.

Masculinity

Though female images are higher in number (58 percent) than male images (42 percent) in the second period, they are not dominant in numbers. It suggests a change in the human images and that men are becoming the main actors in the advertisements.

Inequality

The difference in social status between men and women still exists: men are shown as officials, administrators, women are mainly housewives and mothers.

Period 3: 1991-1996

Youth and middle-aged and above

Along with images of youth, images of the middle-aged and elderly are included; young women are no longer the dominant images.

Masculinism

For the first time the frequency of male images (53.4 percent) is higher than female images (46.5 percent) suggesting that men have begun to have a place in advertising. The change in gender has continued since the second time period.

Equality

Female images have changed. Images of mothers and wives are seldom shown in the advertisements. Although there are differences in social status between men and women, similarities also appear, such as holidaymakers who include men and women. Male officials are no longer seen.

Globalization

In contrast to the first two periods, foreign images come into the advertisements as models for promoting products, delivering the message that the products are sold on the world market and used by overseas customers.

Discussion

In the first phase, the main ideological themes concentrated on youth, femininity and inequality. All these reflect that the Chinese women in their 20s and 30s were commonly used as models for their beauty and attractiveness. Being viewed, their role was passive, as an index to the commodities. Women were also suitable subject images for the advertised products - washing machines, refrigerators, irons, and vacuum cleaners - often used by women at home. According to Hoshi (1986: 80), "89 per cent of women accept that housework is women's responsibility. For them, housework is part of being a woman, just like putting on lipstick" (cited by Tanaka 1996: 128). For some time Chinese women have been tied to family as "a feminine ideal of domesticity" (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 81). *The Atlas of Gender Equality and Women's Development in China* also reported in 2010 that housework is still carried out by women in China.

In the second phase, some ideological changes took place as masculinity emerged suggesting that the situation of women's dominating in the advertising is changing. There are several reasons for this phenomenon. Viewers may have become tired of stereotypical female images, needed new and fresh faces, and therefore men began to replace women. They were not committed to being in the house, reflecting the reality in China. According to the survey of TV images of 10 metropolises (1994) 50.8 percent of women appear in advertising doing housework, while 36 percent of men in

advertising are at home relaxing. This finding represents the general trend of differences between men and women in their leisure time at home. Men are “the masterful, adventurous male – act, as many social scientists argue, as agents of socialization” (Dyer 1993: 78). They are generally independent, at work, entertaining, or enjoying a holiday. While involved in the outside world, they set up relationships, have authority in social life, and act as political and government leaders. They are concerned for the entire nation’s production and economy with heavy responsibility for the Chinese people on the one hand. Figure 4.1 of the advertisement in 1990 shows a group of local officials led by highly ranked officials visiting a factory. On the other hand, this visit of the government officials also suggests that political power pursues the constant principle of a centralized economic market system and socialist construction in China.



Figure 4.1 Vice premier Tian Jiyun visiting Zhongyi Group (1990)

The status of females and males in the third phase is similar to the previous phases: women in the advertisements are wives and a secretary. Even as

holidaymakers, workers and singers, they often stay together with their husbands, children or male colleagues. These features lead to the belief that connotations of the male image as masculine includes a layer of ideological implication. That is the discriminatory function of gender identity: masculinity is always superior to dependent femininity.

It is obvious from the female and male images that economic reform in China has made great changes in peoples' lives since 1978. A large number of people have become rich and enjoy well-being, although there is still a big gap between China and the developed countries in other ways. But the traditional values seem to have changed more slowly than the economy. Thus, from images in advertising it appears that men and women lead a happy life, but their social roles are stereotypical.

4.2.1.2 Hairstyles

People's will and intention may be influenced by their social environment, such as settings and times. "Ideally, styled hair, jewelry, and cosmetics should function as a setting, like that for a gem, which directs attention to what it sets" Brand states in the book titled *Beauty Matters* (2000). The statement made by the author helps us see that like other decorations and make-ups, hair functions to index values which are not just concerned with beauty. Hair is "one of the most potent symbols in cultural communication" (Dyer 1993: 98). It is commonly agreed that hairstyles for women as well as men are not as simple as the manner and decoration of their appearance. Hairstyles serve as important cultural artifacts, because they are simultaneously public (visible to everyone), personal (biologically linked to the body), and highly malleable to suit cultural and personal preferences (Firth 1973; Synott 1987 cited by Weitz 2010: 214). Hairstyle change in China means more than personal and public preference, as it is also related to politics and social changes. (see Table 4.5)

Table 4.5 Hairstyles of different historical times

Historical event	Ideological meaning	Hairstyle
Revolution in China bringing down the Qing Dynasty in 1900s	Revolution	Cutting men's plaits
May 4th Movement in 1919	Acceptance of western ideas of democracy and women's emancipation	Cutting young women's hair short
1950s and 60s frequent political movements	Women's Liberation and revolutionary enthusiasm	Women's short-cut hairstyle cropped up to the earlobes, without any ornaments.
The "Cultural Revolution" in 1960s and 70s	Revolutionaries against bourgeoisie	Long plaits had to be cut short, at least no longer than shoulder length in two short hairbrushes
In the Chinese economic reform and opening up in 1980s	Femininity and professionalism Men' emancipation	Women: Permanent wave hairstyle, shoulder length without any perm. Men: longer hair than before

(Sun Xu www.womenofchina.cn2012-1-1/2007-2010 cultural-china.com 2011-06-28)

Period 1: 1981-1985

For the first time period the hairstyles reveal the themes of the following ideological values:

Power and attractiveness

Results of the research show that women's hairstyles are more various than

men. It can be assumed that women like to make themselves beautiful through their hairstyles on the one hand. On the other advertisers like to use the female image with particular hairstyles, not simply for prettiness and charm, but also to express an energy and power that can attract attention and to influence others' emotions and even other people's perspectives about women with particular hairstyles.

Femininity and professionalism

As shown by the data (see Appendix A.2, Table A.2.4) drop-shoulder hairstyle (at 33 percent) accounts for the highest frequency of women's hairstyles, short curly and ripple hairstyles are at the second highest frequency (at 22 percent) while the long hair is at 20 percent. According to the claim made by Weitz (2010) long hair is more womanly and pulling long hair back into a ponytail can change a woman into a professional woman, most Chinese women do not tend to keep their hair long but introduce curly and wavy hairstyles in order to preserve elegance, charm and indicate professional capability for work by combining the values of femininity and professionalism.

Men's emancipation

In 1980s to wear longer hair and have hair permed started to gain popularity among some young men. The phenomenon suggests that rather than women, Chinese young men's minds began to open. They were fond of things new and vanguard. Although the advertisements do not illustrate the typical vanguard hairstyle of that time, some male images' hairstyle looks longer than the usual men's short hair.

Period 2: 1986-1990

For the second time period the hairstyles reveal the themes of the following

ideological values:

Beauty

Though the hair of most women in the second period was cut short, it was permed into curly, rippled and bouffant. Another common feature for women's hairstyle is to wear the fringed hairstyle either with the short hair and longer hair. The variety of hairstyle reveals that beauty is a permanent theme of ideology in the human's everyday life. Loving beauty is the nature of human being. Everyone has their right to enjoy beauty.

Innovation

Along with beauty that people love, the change of hairstyle in the second period reflects innovative connotations. It suggests that Chinese women turn out to be diverse, different from traditional styles and not wanting to repeat the old style.

Wealth

It is interesting to see some women wear ornaments as shown in the advertisements of 1984-1986, 1988 and 1989 in combination with their elegant hairstyles. These women have put on earrings, finger-rings, bracelets and necklaces most of which are made of jade, pearl and gold. Wearing ornaments of luxurious jewelry is to perform functions of reinforcing the beautiful effects with hairstyles and to make the image become more attractive; demonstrating the wealthy status of the images as middle class members. These changes suggest that materialism became more prominent in people's mind.

Period 3: 1991-1996

For the third time period the hairstyles reveal the themes of the following ideological values:

Individuality and feminism

In third time period the short hairstyle remained at the highest frequency, while the drop-shouldered style still existed but remained at the lowest in frequency. The phenomenon implies that women's choice of hairstyle was not limited to long hair which was more womanly. Their aesthetic standard was influenced by the singers of Hong Kong and international film stars. They were keen on their own right and freedom to form their personal image wishing to express themselves through their hair. (see Figure 4.2)



Figure 4.2 Women's hair in 1990s (*Clothing of 100 years*)

Discussion

Possible trends of hairstyle in the 1980s are represented in the data by dropped-shoulder hair, long and short curly hairstyles. Women acquired a certain hair-style to be pretty and good looking, "the conventional attractiveness is in fact a realistic route to power for women, in both intimate

relationships and careers" (Weitz 2010). Yet in Chinese advertising in the period 1981-1985 hairstyles were adopted not just for these reasons, but also because they suggest more ideological power in relation to their professions. Dropped-shoulder hair is neither long nor short and should be considered as representing a combination of femininity and professionalism. It seemed to be an ideal hairstyle in terms of attractiveness and professionalism for Chinese women both at work or at home.

Not all men's hair demonstrated a short, plain style. Some younger men wore their hair longer in the 1980s and some even had their hair permed. The way the Chinese young men treated their hair then suggests that their aesthetic feeling changed as their minds were opening up to the possibilities of greater individuality. Along with women's emancipation men's change of fashion and style should not be ignored. Unfortunately, some more vanguard hairstyles were not publicized in the advertisements of very influential magazines (see Figure 4.2).

Shoulder-length styles were apparently worn up and perming hair was favored by the Chinese young women in the advertising of the second phase of 1986-1990. During the "Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976), perming hair, considered a sign of the "corrupted bourgeois way of life", had been banned in China (Sun 2012). Meanwhile, the hairstyles of singer stars and film stars either from Hong Kong, Taiwan or mainland China inspired women to copy them (<http://www.picturechina.com.cn/> 2012-10-1). Women became outgoing, socially brave, and dared to express themselves through their hair, and ornaments such as earrings and rings. "The changes in Chinese women's hairstyles have reflected China's economic development, the marked improvements in people's lives and the changes in people's ideas during the past six decades" (Sun 2012). Meanwhile, this change implied social progression at the ideological level as society began to accept

women's decisions in changing their hairstyles and wearing ornaments (Rubinstein 1995: 151).

The short hairstyle remained a preference in the third phase with the drop-shouldered style stepped back to the bottom line which implies the change of hairstyles in China and also the change in people's aesthetic demands. In the 1980s, with the door opening wider, the long, curly and waved hairstyles were the priority in women's choice. In the 1990s the short hairstyle became popular because of the influence of pop stars from Hong Kong and the ideological impact of feminism. Women wanted more equal opportunities in society, in areas of employment, education and administration. People cared more about the right to pursue their own personality, individuality and inner world. See the website of picturechina.com.cn:

The female hairstyles broke through the traditional patterns. Those elegantly cut short hairstyles expressed energetic and female beauty. Long and short hairstyles accompanied each other and were accepted widely by the public. The rise of feminism effected women's life in different respects. They were more aware of using the outer look and image to show their inner thoughts and ideological pursuit. Regarding the era of 1990s, it was a landmark for women, because they really understood that longing for individuality and fashion was their own right.

(<http://www.picturechina.com.cn/bbs/viewthread.php/2012-9-26>)

In summary, women's hairstyles mirrored the changes in their appearance and also revealed the ideological differences in the three time periods. In the early 1980s women wanted to make their hair beautiful, and pursued public fashion, doing what others did. But in the 1990s they started to pursue their own personal aspirations, seeking individual emancipation, and longing to

be perceived as different from others.

4.2.1.3 Body

The category of the body is concerned with human images whether they are fully clothed or partly clothed and half naked. According to Gagnard (1986: 46 cited by Fowles 1996: 153) as far as women are concerned, "They are also many times more likely than males to be partially or completely undressed" (Andrem, 1978: 132; Soley & Kurzbard 1986: 53 cited by Fowles 1996). International scholars might comment that women's bodies and manner of dress are generally reflective of their nations' morals and values, but in China this statement is not totally acceptable if we consider China only opened up to the world since 1978. The following section is concerned with issues of women's body and dress in advertising, as encoding ideological values throughout the three phases of the time period.

Period 1: 1981-1985

Asceticism and potential conflict

China experienced a long history of feudalism and in the "Cultural Revolution" making visible any form of nudity except hands and faces was considered to be evil and spiritual pollution. Topics of sexuality in people's public life and in the mass media were strictly limited and forbidden. The data shows that the Chinese women in household appliance advertisements are fully dressed (100 percent) in a quite conservative manner, which in contrast to the researcher's claims cited by Fowles (1996). Viewers can only identify their gender by their dress, so it is rather conservative for women to show their charm and attractiveness and there is no explicit trace of sexual appeal. However, driven by the profit-making motive advertisers still use the physical charms and alluring eye contact of the Chinese woman to attract

viewers to the product.

Period 2: 1986-1990

Dissolution of asceticism

Without exception all female images are clothed as in the first phase. However, in the advertisements of 1987 the women are partially exposed with bare shoulders, arms and legs. This emphasizes their charm, smoothness of limb and feminine attributes. Although exposing body parts did not occur in the previous phase and is of low frequency in this phase, it is remarkable that some part of the body is exposed in two advertisements printed on the front covers and one in the inserted advertisement in the major nationwide periodicals. This signals the loosening of spiritual asceticism.

Period 3: 1991-1996

Westernization and feminism

In the third period, some bodies in advertisements are more exposed than in the former two periods (see Figure 4.3). The human images are of a western girl in a bikini, a couple in swimwear walking hand in hand on the beach. This shows the liberation of femininity and an acceptance of western culture.



Figure 4.3 A couple (left, 1996) and a western girl (right, 1993)

Discussion

In the early 1980s people's bodies were included in the new era of reform but attitudes were still influenced by the old days. Due to the social inertia caused by the "Cultural Revolution", the movement against "spiritual pollution" broadened (Yuan and Hu 2010). The Chinese people remained cautious and sensitive about western styles of dress and in particular the notion of sexual expression in public. Under the shadow of the former extreme left political ideology, people avoided talking about sex and were forbidden to show the partially naked body for commercial purposes. Advertising images of people showed them as always fully dressed. Slender female figures, pretty girls in elegant clothing with luxurious decorations were the main focus. These features reflected people's ideological conflicts and contradiction. Advertisers knew that sexual details would attract viewers' attention, but were very cautious about how much of women's physical appearance they could use.

Traditional ideological values expected women to behave in a modest,

restrained manner, conveying softness and silence and not exposing certain parts of their bodies. Otherwise women were thought to be shameless, immoral and evil. The occurrence of female images with exposed body parts in advertisements of the second period forecasts a radical change in social values in China as earlier stereotypical female images such as laboring housewives, good mothers, women in dressing gowns, or imaged as iron maidens were challenged. Asceticism began to give way to sexuality. Zhang Jiayun said (2006) that both national market reform and globalization have offered Chinese women an unexpected opportunity to overtake Chinese society's level of development, while at the same time entering the global stage.

(Zhuang *"Miss China" The Hyper visible Female Body on the Global Stage/* <http://women.ucla.edu/csw/Newsletter/Jan07/zhuang.html> 2012-10-8).

The partial exposure of the female body after the 1980s suggested that the Chinese women in the new era were neither ashamed nor isolated in wishing to display their feminine attractions and attributes. They wished to integrate themselves into the world of men, both spiritually and physically.

The body, especially the female body, in advertisements is not value-free. Dyer (1993: 98) maintains, "Advertising has been quick to exploit the potential meaning of human, particularly female bodies". It is used to attract the viewer's gaze, and to persuade viewers to spend money on products. In the third phase, some bodies are more naked than those of the former phases. After surveying the bodies in advertisements throughout 1981-1996, it is the contention of this thesis that China has witnessed a great change in ideological value, from traditional conservativeness to daring openness, from a kind of feudalism and asceticism to greater westernization, from being restrained to pursuing individuality and greater visibility and voice. However, these changes were originally connected to the

profit motive in a narrow sense, and more broadly to the firm and cautious regulation of government policy for switching the national agenda from political debate and class struggle to economic construction. In 1978, in the third plenary session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), former Communist Party leader Deng Xiaoping in his keynote speech called on officials and party members to “emancipate minds”. Later in 1988, he once again stressed:

We must continue to emancipate our minds and speed up the reform and the opening process. These two tasks will continue throughout the course of China’s development.

(Deng 1994: 259)

With that doctrine, Deng urged officials to break the backward-looking ideological barrier and pursue market-style economic reform. Deng Xiaoping made an undeniable contribution to the change in Chinese ideology as Jiang Zemin, the former Party leader of China, in his speech titled “Hold High the Great Banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory for an All-round Advancement of the Course of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics into the 21st Century”, acknowledged:

China is a socialist country that upholds the principle of the communist party centered, Deng Xiaoping’s theory to break with outmoded conventions on the basis of new practice, and explore a new realm for Marxism would powerfully influence Chinese government policy to establish the important strategic objective of developing the Chinese market economy, by persistently opening China to western culture and ideology. This could have created impact on the Chinese peoples’ mind.

(1997)

4.2.2 Manner in human images

According to Dyer (1993), "Manner indicates behavior or emotion at any one time, and is manifest in three main codes of non-verbal communication". Manner is analyzed in the following under the three sub-categories of facial expression, eye contact, and pose.

4.2.2.1 Facial expression

As Dyer claims (1993) facial expression is the focal area of the advertising image that can raise the viewer's attention at first sight. It is crucial for transmitting certain emotions to attract the viewer by the advertisement or to create a distinct impression on the audience so that they later recall some memorable images. In relation to the importance of facial expressions Gary Faigin maintains:

No wonder then, that the little movements that alter the look of the features—facial expressions—can have such great significance. The slightest suggestion of a smile can start a conversation between strangers; the slightest suggestion of a frown can start an argument between friends.

(1992: 8)

Therefore, advertisements with human images show most of them with facial expressions that are both smiling and poker-faced. However, they are not likely to be real smiles but are artificially presented for commercial purposes. Harley (1992: 76, 134) claims that this is professional smiling. Smiles were at their highest frequency of expressions in the first and second periods and at the second highest frequency of expressions during the third

period of 1991-1996 when they were one of the most significant features in the advertisements. They need more analysis at the ideological level. The following section discusses some of the ideological meanings of smiling.

Period 1: 1981-1985 and Period 2: 1986-90

The same results occur for each phase, therefore they are treated together.

Happiness

The smiling face has the highest frequency of 67 percent in the first period compared with other facial expressions. Normally in advertisements the facial expression is positive, contented, purposeful, delighted, happy, gleeful and so on (Dyer 1993: 99). Therefore, the ideological value of smiling delivered by the advertisements can be said to be happiness.

Professionalism

Although smiling is endowed with the meaning of happiness, it is claimed by Hartley (1992: 76, 134) as professional. Smiling in advertising is artificially designed and commercialized by advertisers in order to attract readers' attention and create a positive context for the product.

Consumerism

Smiling is densely used in advertising both in relation to female and male facial expressions. Advertisers employ smiling to symbolize the joy of human images related to the products and to make readers and possible consumers feel comfortable enough to purchase them.

Period 3: 1991-1996

Uniqueness and individuality

The facial expression which had top frequency in the third period was the neutral or expressionless one. It does not appear to be happy and cheerful, in combination with other components of the model such as face and hair. Instead it conveys cool beauty, exoticism, sexuality and rationalism and individuality to be exclusive and self-centered. This expressionless face of a western model appears unique and special in many advertisements compared with the Chinese advertising models.

Discussion

In the first two phases from 1981-1990, the most frequently adopted facial expressions in the advertisements were "smiling", an emotional expression that represents happiness. However, as Hartley claims (1992: 76, 134) this facial expression is designed for commercial purposes and is known as professional smiling. It possesses at least two ideological meanings. One, at the superficial level, is happiness and the other, at the deeper level, is professionalism, artificially designed for attracting viewers' attention. Most of the advertising images, especially of women working at home, present smiling faces that are posed rather than honestly expressed with real emotion.

This professional smiling deliberately alters the facts of everyday reality. According to the survey in 2000 on Chinese women's position (*The Atlas of Gender Equality and Women's Development in China*. 2010), Chinese women spend more hours on housework than men. They are on average involved in housework 4.01 hours per day, i.e. 2.7 hours more than men. In

China certain Chinese words designate women as "house women", "home cooks", and "that one at home", suggesting their inferior social status. It is unusual to see women cleaning, cooking and washing with a consistently pleasant smiling face as advertising shows. It can be claimed that the smile in advertising demonstrates fantasy rather than reality.

In the first phase, most of the smiling women are engaged in washing clothes, testing washing machines in the factory, or cleaning the room. On the contrary, in the second phase most women are shown to have more leisure time for entertainment, are chatting with friends, dancing with husbands and children, lying and listening to the tape recorder, playing electric pianos. All these show that although women smile in the advertisements in the first and second periods, the causes and contexts of their smiling might be different; the difference is shown to be in the improvement of women's lifestyle because of the introduction of new household appliances onto the market in the second phase. These products such as tape recorders and electric pianos are devoted to leisure time and entertainment, rather than housework.

Apart from the smiles on women's faces, there are also men smiling in the advertisements between 1988 and 1990. The men's smiling includes the smile related to products and visits of government officials. The first kind of smile, connected with the tape recorder and refrigerator, informs us that the men using the products really enjoy them. The second kind of smile indicates the joy at being visited by high ranking political leaders. The first kind of facial expression is commercial, oriented towards product promotion, and the second involves elements of political power and propaganda and aims to promote the government's relationship with the people as well as their concern about Chinese economic development.

The analysis suggests that the smiling face in advertising is not always authentic and real, but can be imitated and exaggerated. "Even when they are accepted, they are usually taken to represent the world not as it is but as it might be" (Fowles 2007). We should remember that advertisers help producers sell their commodities through depicting ideal images with bright smiling faces in order to attract consumers' attention and reduce their resistance, because product promotional advertising might not be always welcome. However, smiling in advertising also embodies connotative meanings that help critics see changes in society as reflections of different ideological functions.

There is a major difference in the third phase, in that expressionless facial expressions are preferred by admen. This appears to be unique to this phase.

Smiling can be considered as the long term conventional facial expression in advertising, because smiling as a professional strategy is used to persuade people to buy the products. Although it looks friendly and happy, it is not so honest. The neutral facial expressions, especially in images of non Chinese subjects, are exploited to offer a brand new visual image which might have fresh appeal for Chinese audiences (see Figure 4.4).



Figure 4.4. Expressionless faces in advertisements of 1996

The images with the expressionless faces are mainly non-Chinese models. They are undoubtedly exotic, charming, sexual and attractive even though they are not smiling. Their expressionless faces can be considered as more impressive than the exaggerated and strategic smiling face in the previous advertisements. It can be understood that while the smile is to show politeness and intimacy with the audience, the non-smiling facial expression, which may look serious, suggests possible dominance, could create a more rational atmosphere. This indicates that admen hope to persuade consumers by means of a expressionless facial expression of a western model which transmits ideological messages such as beauty, exoticism, sexuality, superiority, dignity, credit and dominance. The characteristics and attributes of the female expressionless faces based on these values no doubt contradict the conventional views of the traditional Chinese advertising smile. However, both smiling and neutral facial expressions have a similar ideological purpose: to tempt viewers to read the contents of the advertisements and build a relationship with them. The adoption of the foreign model with the expressionless faces in the advertisements also revealed that the Chinese advertisers started to introduce western cultural

elements to the Chinese mass medium in the respects of its form and ideologies.

4.2.2.2 Eye contact

Gary (1992: 79) points out that "Eyes are the most restless feature. Our eyes are constantly moving about, even when we're not"; that is, eyes are very active in their movement. Of particular interest are the directions in which people look. "The direction of the gaze can be an evocative element in a portrait. Downcast eyes, upraised eyes, eyes looking sideways, even out-of-focus eyes, are all suggestive of states of mind" (Gary 1992: 79). Similarly, like the gaze in a portrait, the look and its directions in advertising can express meanings that arouse varied responses in the viewer.

Eye contact is a form of nonverbal communication between individuals. Advertisers introduce this strategy in order to attract readers' attention. Dyer (1993: 99) lists several methods: eye contact directed towards the audience/camera, an object, or other people in the ads. Hartley emphasizes that the power of "mere appearance", of the look, the glance, the "first glance" is constitutive of social cohesion, social totality in a particular individual. "Furthermore, even in western political mythology, glancing is the very foundation stone of politics" (Hartley 1992: 94). Appendix A.3, Tables A.3.1,2,3 show the number and percentage of different types of eye contact.

Period 1: 1981-1985

Relationship

Of the different categories of eye contact, the highest frequency is eye contact directed towards audience (40 percent). In advertising, Hartley

claims, "eye contact with the audience is often a feature conducted by the adman with the potential to form intimacy, friendship" (Hartley 1992), as advertisers aim to set up the initial relation between advertisement and viewers.

Profit

The suggestion of establishing intimacy and friendship in combination with romantic and pleasant smiling is one disguise for the economic, financial and beneficial relationships between people. There is a proverb in China, "A knife hidden in smiling", meaning a killer looks intimate and friendly. So when we see images with their eyes directed to the audience, smiling, we would rather say these eyes are directed on the audience's pocket.

Period 2: 1986-1990

Enticement

It is obvious that the most frequent type of eye contact requires looking at the audience (or camera) at a horizontal level. But some eye contact was constructed at a different level. For instance, an advertisement of 1986 shows a girl lying beside the tape-recorder watching the camera or audience. Her eyes appear wide open and directed upward. Although such a gaze and posture are not comfortable for the model, it implies her active invitation for a conversation about or scrutiny of the product, i.e. the tape-recorder. Her look towards the audience expresses an inclusive message: "You and me".

Consumerism

At the superficial level, the straightforward glance toward viewers emanates from the images, but in fact, this glance is designed by the admen and represents the producer's intention to make the viewer purchase the

products. The straightforward glance is identical with the producer's desire.

Rational and emotional indexical functions

The eye contact as an indexical function at higher frequency is represented by two categories: looking at products (11 percent) and the glance at viewers (22 percent) in the advertisements. The former aims to direct viewers' attention to products and the latter to exhibit an intimate, friendly atmosphere between human beings in the advertisements. Both types of eye contact represent familiar advertising strategies.

Period 3: 1991-1996

Relationship

Analysis of eye contact with audience in the third phase, confirms that the direct gaze is the most common phenomenon. Eye contact has the role of a channel linking viewers with producers.

Exotic enticement

In 1993, 1994, and 1996 the subjects are mainly non-Chinese women with big, blue eyes. It is possible that Chinese viewers would look longer on these subjects, because they appear exotic and different. The introduction of the non-Chinese female with beautiful eyes is a strategy for attracting viewers' attention, but could also deliver a meaning similar to the verbal slogan of "imported parts from Japan" that appeared in advertisements of the 1980s in order to increase the perceived value of products.

Modernization

In addition to eye contact, the theme of looking at machines is unique to this period when advertisements with people operating machines appear. Only in

the 1990s are there advertisements with people operating the machines such as computers and modern-looking machine tools and staring at them indicating that these products are made with high technology. Workers and engineers wear white long gowns like doctors' clothing, and some wear formal suits. All these suggest that the working conditions and environment for making household appliances are modern and tidy, while the machines and equipment look technologically advanced.

Discussion

In the first period a number of the subjects glance in directions that convey different communicative functions. For instance, eye contact between a couple in an advertisement for Nanjing Radio Factory (1983) exhibits a romantic picture of a girl singing with the radio recorder and a young man playing a musical instrument to accompany her. Their look towards the viewer functions as if the eye contact is introducing a dialogue. Mutual eye contact is "a form of address" (McCracken 1993: 103) intended to conduct an interpersonal action. Hartley (1992) emphasizes that the power of "mere appearance", the power of the look, the glance, and the "first glance" are constitutive of social cohesion, and social totality in a particular individual. Therefore, the ideological function of the glance at the audience in the advertisements is to set up a relationship of intimacy between producers and viewers. It is also expected that such a relationship should develop into a business one. Therefore, eye contact, particularly that directed at the audience in the advertisements appears as polite and friendly but also appears in the context of commercialized and industrialized products.

Similar to the first period the most frequent type of eye contact in the second period is looking at the audience. This suggests that a straightforward glance at the audience is the usual way that advertisers attract viewers' attention at first glance, as "her eyes greet the viewer straight on [...] her

face addresses the camera / us" (Goldman 2000: 150).

From the functional point of view, the glance of the subject is more than a simple act of eye contact. The viewer is not merely having a look, through eye contact, so that an initial relationship might be set up with the advertising image but the image be inviting him/her to participate in trying and buying the product. This is virtually and implicitly manipulated by producers; the glance, therefore, has primarily the instrumental function of connecting two participants and altering the position of the viewer to that of a possible consumer.

Also of a high frequency (19 percent) is the glance at products which has the indexical function to lead viewers' attention to those products rather than to linger on the people. This glance is more straightforward than the gaze at the audience in connecting viewers to products.

In addition to the first and second glances mentioned above, the image's reciprocal glance in advertising ranks the second highest use at 20 percent (but in the first phase it is obviously low, at 15 percent), suggesting a change in advertising design and appeal to human behavior. This suggests that the gaze was naturally directed at products rather than designed to gaze at them deliberately.

Other advertising illustrations display people facing each other. In Figure 4.5 three women sitting on the couch are enjoying a conversation without reference to any audience. Although it appears exclusive, this kind of advertising aims to highlight the presence of the products within a natural environment inhabited by a group of people.



Figure 4.5 Three women facing each other (1986)

In the third period, eye contact is still most frequently directed at the audience (30 percent). The result of examining methods of eye contact with audience, confirms that the direct gaze is the most common phenomenon with images and the principle still observed by admen. Eye contact operates as a channel to link both viewers and producers. The models in 1993, 1994, and 1996 are mainly non-Chinese women with big and blue eyes, by contrast to Chinese females. It is possible that the Chinese viewers' eyesight will linger longer on western models' eyes and facial expressions. Meanwhile the gaze at viewers also has the function of an invitation to them to build up the link between producers and potential customers. However, we should not forget that eye contact is virtually a tool to encourage people to spend money on products and make a profit for producers.

The appearance of the western female is a strategy for attracting viewers' attention. In the 1990s, non-Chinese subjects, especially attractive women models began to be used in the advertisement, reflecting admiration for exotic things and people from other countries. In addition to the types of eye contact mentioned above, the category of looking at machines is unique in

the third phase. Such advertisements offer a picture of the modernization of Chinese light industry in order to convince viewers that the products turned out by these factories are excellent in quality and technology.

The function and construction of different forms of eye contact are found to be ideological, for example, the direct gaze at the audience functions to invite the viewer's participation in the interaction; the gaze at products plays an indexical function in directly connecting the viewer and product; the reciprocal gaze creates a romantic scene to highlight the product; the gaze of non-Chinese models provides a fresh, exotic atmosphere. Whatever ideological meanings the glance has, it should not be forgotten that behind all the glances, the sale of products and profit-making are the ultimate goals of advertisers and producers.

4.2.2.3 Pose

"Pose can be static or active and sometimes corresponds to expression [...]. Pose is also related to social position and status" (Dyer 1993: 100).

Period 1: 1981-1985

Of the total images, 38 percent of the people are standing, while another 38 percent are sitting. These are the most commonly used postures in the advertising.

Product-centered theme

The advertisements reveal that the human posture is usually determined by the products for sale: some are standing and others are slightly bending in order to show how they use products such as washing machines for

housework, some sitting next to products such as a radio recorder which indicates they are being used for entertainment.

Civilization

Some postures are not just determined by the products: a woman is standing in a kitchen, holding a magazine and looking at the reader with a washing machine in front of her; a young woman sitting on an electric blanket is making a phone call in a luxurious hotel; another one is sitting on an electric blanket on grass in a park where it is being used without electricity. The purpose of the postures reveal the "common sense" (Fairclough 1996) of hedonism and civilization that women are liberated, not preoccupied by housework, and can enjoy their leisure time by reading, calling someone at home and sitting in parks.

Period 2: 1986-1990:

Hedonism

As shown by the posture of the models in the second period, the belief that gaining pleasure is important in life became popular. Although the most common posture is standing, compared with the standing posture of the first phase, women standing in the second phase are rarely engaged in housework. Whatever the pose, images of women show them doing housework, staying indoors at home, while men are usually outside. In this time period their respective social status has not changed much.

Attachment to products

Apart from the housewife's role, women also function in the media as a decoration adorning the products. For instance, two women working: one in an advertisement in 1986 appears to be shopping and selecting commodities, as she is carrying a handbag, and touching the electric heating blanket; the other in an advertisement in 1987 holds a plate in her hands while standing in front of a big dish-washer (see Figure 4.6) serving as Peter Collett (2006: 52) claims, "to express compliance and attractive charm" rather than to operate the dishwasher.



Figure 4.6 A woman standing in front of the dish-washer (1987)

Sexuality

Besides the standing and sitting poses, the images also show the prone position. This advertisement below is one of two which show a young girl lying on a bed (see Figure 4.7) aiming "to make the model's figure look more sexy, and charming" (Qi 2005: 75).



Figure 4.7 A girl lying on bed (1987)

The advertisements of 1987 show one woman partially clothed with her shoulder exposed and others like the girl lying semi-prone on the bed with shoulders and legs exposed. These show a shift in advertising from more conservative to less conservative female images although it cannot be interpreted as a form of sexual liberation.

Period 3: 1991-1996

Social status

The social status of those in the sitting pose can differ. For instance, in an advertisement of 1991, people in the sitting pose working with computers in white gowns look like laboratory workers, engineers or scientists who are generally considered to be dedicated, better educated and qualified in techniques for using computers. Their job is higher in occupational status than that of women imaged as sitting at home or cleaning, washing, combing, chatting and enjoying their leisure time with products, or the sexy model who sits behind the product with a bare shoulder and leg (see Figure 4.8).



Figure 4.8 A female model (1994)

Sexuality

The lying pose is uniquely used by advertisers for female images, to represent the value of femininity and to attract the viewer's attention easily. For instance, the non-Chinese woman wearing a bikini lying prone on the beach with her chest, upper and lower body exposed to viewers, suggests an extreme of sexuality in advertising in China in the late 1990s.

Harmony, nature, hedonism and health

Sitting, standing, bending and lying can be regarded as static poses by contrast to active poses such as swimming, dancing, jumping, cycling, surfing, sailing and walking. These constitute 29 percent of poses in the third period. The illustrations utilizing active poses of surfing and sailing on a blue sea under a sunny sky contain ideological meanings: these can be decoded as the harmonious integration of nature and human beings, implied in leisure activities and a healthy life style.

Discussion

In the first period the postures of sitting and standing separate the images into two groups. Those who stand engaged in housework, and those who were sitting or lying sideways to rest, read and entertain. They display patterns of posture related to peoples' activities in everyday life, although they are passively determined by the advertised products. Advertisers tend to link their products with a civilized and wealthy life style, and the postures of elegant models. Those of women are artificially constructed in order to inform viewers about the functions of a product and its advantages for consumers.

In the first and second phases, the issue of identity - what the woman and man are like and what role these images correspond to in society – is raised. As Fowles (1996) says (cited in Bretl & Cantor 1988), "However, females in prime-time commercials are still more often depicted as not employed, in domestic settings, and using products (although males are increasingly shown in the roles of spouses and parents)". Such a phenomenon also appears in Chinese advertisements.

Women in the standing posture in the second period are likely to be more relaxed and leisurely. There are seven types of activities conducted by women in the standing posture. They are not just associated with washing machines, but with other appliance such as refrigerators, electric blankets, dish washers, and tape-recorders. Washing machines and fans no longer predominate in the second phase. From this change in the commercial context of the posture, it appears that the quality of life has increased with some liberation from the demands of labour.

The activities and postures of the subjects are artificially designed according to product type and function. Thus, advertising images demonstrate the roles of workers and housewives as a sign directing the reader's eye to the products. Subjects lying in the prone position or standing in the 'S' manner are unlikely to appear in the first phase, and never before 1978. Although they seem to be enjoying themselves, they are designed as instrumental in attracting viewers without any definite self-identity; instead there is an implicit sexuality. This represents a breakthrough in the female pose since the first phase. Since the founding of new China in 1949, the advertisements have not used illustrations like the lying woman image. Most are in the standing pose or sitting position as shown by labouring people. If this kind of advertising had emerged before the reform in China, it would have been criticized as the outcome of bourgeoisie, and revisionism.

In the illustration men engaged in high tech. work are identifiable as white-collar workers, while women are often merely housewives dealing with simple, manual household chores. Although some advertisements in 1995 show women sitting at the assembly line installing and testing products they differ from the men sitting at computer desks. These workers are "quickly trained, single purpose" (Ewen 2001: 23) and ordinary working women. Both their wage and social status are probably lower than the male computer experts. These inferences from men and women's poses suggest the inequality of social positions between men and women, either in people's consciousness or in reality: as McCracken claims (2001: 17): "women aged 25 to 44 who balanced their lives as wives, mothers and workers". The lying pose exists in the advertisements throughout all three phases, for it aims to show elegance, beauty and attractiveness, and to make the model look more sexy and charming (Qi Ke 2005: 46-75). However, there are variations in the female lying pose; i.e. the woman in an advertisement of 1985 is lying sideways with a one-piece dress with long sleeves that looks like a

nightgown. In the second phase, are two types of lying poses for women: lying sideways and prone.

The girl lying prone is seen wearing clothes in which her shoulders are exposed and her legs raised, while her eyes and smile convey a sense of sexual seduction. Compared with the lying image of the second phase, the female image in advertisements of 1993 is more explicit in sexual seduction (see Figure 4.3). This woman wearing a bikini and lying on the beach presents a more overt sexuality. Regarding the ideological function, Yang Xiaoyan's point (2009: 264), that "In this comparatively conservative and closed nation, their behavior has changed others and themselves", is convincing. The half-naked lying lady shown in the advertisement is an indication of the breakthrough in traditional Chinese social values.

While displaying the lying pose or the behavior of sexuality and the luring viewer, the admen naturally and unconsciously lead people to think about more than the material satisfaction, that is not just what they can eat and use, but rather how well they can eat and live. Buying a product involves expenditure on comfort and enjoyment in material, emotional and spiritual terms. The changes represented by the models' poses in the advertisements belong to an era in which earlier ideological values become out-dated and too conservative, while other modern values become legitimate. Advertising establishes the sense of exoticism, freedom, and romanticism in the values of the Chinese during this period.

Static poses like sitting, standing, bending and lying were dominant in the first and second time period, although active poses of people engaged in sports and entertainment did not appear at this time. Although many features of poses and their settings did not correspond to the reality of China in the 1990s as if they were borrowed from western countries, they seem to

expose the ideological elements of a modern lifestyle: harmony, nature, hedonism and health. They were utopian for the Chinese consumers and helped open up the Chinese minds by creating the desire for these types of life style or by setting up conceptual targets, whether cognitive, physical or material, achievable through buying the products.

4.2.3 Clothing

4.2.3.1 Clothing

Besides applied functions, dress or clothing the body is also used to construct personal identities, as well as prettiness and “moral and political meanings” (Haye and Wilson 1999: 1). “Fashion and clothing are ideological...” (Barnard 1996: 39). Dress itself is neutral, but it can bear ideological values when certain groups of people wear particular clothes at a certain time in certain settings.

Period 1: 1981-1985

Wealth and prosperity

The dresses worn by the models in the advertisements appear to be formal, elegant and expensive. All clothes reflect the pursuit of a wealthy and prosperous life in the first period that entailed wearing expensive and beautiful clothes and using household appliances in the home.

Homogeneity and backwardness

An advertisement in 1984 shows two men in a department store wearing the Mao suits (see Figure 4.9), which were very popular in the 1980s and earlier. They were worn by the top government officials in the central party committee, army officers, as well as by ordinary citizens in cities and rural

areas for all kinds of occasion, formal or informal; they were even worn by young and middle-aged women before the 1980s (Yuan and Hu 2010: 295-335). Yet the popularity of the Mao suit and its homogeneity also reflect the poverty of the Chinese economy in the early 1980s and before.



Figure 4.9 Chairman Mao and Mao suit (hc360)

Period 2: 1986-1990

Wealth and hedonism

An interesting feature in this phase is the quality of the fabrics which are more expensive and refined than the first phase, being made of wool, silk, cotton and blended fabric. This reflects improvements in consumers' living standard as they could now choose what types of clothing they wear and the quality of the fabric. Good quality clothing offered feelings of bodily comfort, elegance and demonstrates affluence, like jewellery, as a mark of status.

Deviation and alienation

Major changes in advertising of the second phase occurred in clothing styles which reflect the ideological values of deviation and alienation. In the early 1980s, the popular fashion for women was limited to the one-piece dress, trousers, blouses and suits. The new styles of clothing in advertisements of 1986-1990 are the short skirt, bat sweater, suits, the halter top and cropped trousers which were "unusual and unconventional" (Hua 2009: 183) compared with the clothing of the first phase.

Period 3: 1991-1996

Health

New items of clothing that emerged in the third period include the bikini, scarf, and work uniforms. Some items vanished, such as nightgowns. The most significant feature is the bikini worn by women accompanied by men also in swimwear. They are shown walking together along the beach, sailing or floating in a swimming pool. The images associated with the bikini and swimwear suggest that going to the beach, enjoying the sunshine, sea and the beauty of nature constitute a new lifestyle for Chinese audiences.

Discussion

Of the total number of 68 pieces of clothing worn by women and men, the one-piece dress gained the highest percentage (22 percent) as the first choice for women. Worn outside in parks and inside in meeting rooms, they are the symbol of fashion, elegance and wealth in the 1980s. The nightgown, blue jeans, hood and leather boots which were considered to be luxurious, modern and avant-garde in early 1980s were less fashionable. Other expensive clothes in the advertisements are women's cashmere sweaters. Although these sweaters do not exactly match the scenes of washing clothes at home and or enjoying cool air with fans in a warm season, they suggest

the ideological connotation of pursuing beauty, wealth and prosperity in daily life.

The Mao suit was a symbol of proletarian unity and reflection of Chinese political ideology: authority, homogeneity, equality, revolution, opposing the western ideology of capitalism. The universality and singularity of this suit constrained personal individuality, both physically and mentally. It is now valued as the symbol of the extreme-left ideological trend that reduced the evolution of Chinese clothing and culture (Yuan and Hu 2010: 341), and so also a symbol of an old fashioned, poor, backward nation.

After the early 1980s, the improvement in the quality of fabric and the diversification of clothing types mirrored the development of the Chinese textile industry, as Ash states:

In recent years, the textile industry was given some impetus by imports of advanced technology and equipment from abroad. During the eighth Five-Year Plan (1986-1990) China increased its technological investments in the textile industry to 71 billion Yuan. The imported equipment and blowing-carding-drawing units, promoted the industrial technical transformation.

(2004: 175)

Around 1990s the Mao suit was seldom worn, even at very formal events. It was replaced by the western suit with a necktie. The shift from resisting to accepting western style dress indicates a change in Chinese ideological values. Zhao Ziyang, the Chinese Premier and one of the earliest top leaders in China of 1980s, first wore the western suit and tie at the National Party Conference in November 1987 and other formal official ceremonies. The following photo shows the top leaders wearing the western suits instead of

Mao's suits after Chinese economic reform which began in the late 1970s (see Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10 Zhao Ziyang, chief secretary of the Chinese Communist Party and other leaders in the western suits (10 years for economic system reform of China, 1988)

The change of clothing style implied that China was determined to conduct economic reform. From the cover advertisement of *Household Appliance*, Vol. 5 (1984) above, we can also see the man standing in the middle wearing a western suit, indicating that the Chinese were beginning to accept western suits and concepts (see Figure 4.14).

Wearing formal and expensive dress in the 1980s implies that China as a poor economic nation with the largest population of the world was longing for a wealthy life. In contrast, the models in advertisements during the 1990s wore bikinis and were accompanied by men in swimsuits. This demonstrated a big change in peoples' lives and their ideological views. Regarding the value of swimwear, Rubinstein says (1995) "The swimsuit

competition proclaims the importance of self-restraint (not overeating)". It also affirms that beauty today lies in the fitness of the body, its readiness for action, and its agility and flexibility. His point of view also helps us decode the meaning of the bikini, swimwear and sportswear worn by the images in the advertising of 1990s. Besides attracting the viewer's attention from the point of view of sexuality, it also delivers the message of ideological views, fitness, health and enjoying leisure time in nature rather than just "having ample clothing and food" (Mao 1943 <http://baike.so.com/doc/6794630.html> 2014-1-20).

The advertisements of the 1990s with images of bikinis, swimwear and sportswear demonstrate major difference in ideological values and are concerned more with fitness than wealth. Ideas of fitness have expanded beyond the notion of "having ample food and clothing". The healthy, well-off living style began to include sports, going to the beach and the natural environment in leisure time. The changes in clothing in advertisements of the 1990s imply the ideological pursuit of a better life.

4.2.3.2 Cloth colour

"Colour is recognized universally as a natural component of beauty. [...] Colour is a visual language" (Holtzschue 2002: 3). Colour has many functions, more than just creating beauty; like dress it has meaning and can also convey ideological meanings. As colour is necessary for everyday life it is important to think about the colour of peoples' clothing.

Colour has more functions than just showing beauty or grasping viewers' attention, as the magazine *Ink World*, states: "things that sparkle and shine tend to get noticed" (Sutton and Whelan 2004). It also has social meanings when combined with social elements, and can be marked out for gender identity, indicate certain emotions, attitudes and intentions, and represent

particular political and ideological values. Therefore, in analysis, cloth colour should be treated in the social and ideological dimensions.

Period 1: 1981-1985

Gender and cultural values

Men in the advertisements wear suits in blue, green and grey, and white shirts. Women's clothing colours are more diverse: there are 11 types of colour for their attire by contrast to four kinds for men. This extensive contrast indicates that colour functions as a marker of gender. Colour in China also has symbolic meanings representing cultural elements.

Period 2: 1986-1990

Decline of political impact

In the second phase green is almost entirely missing. Green used to be one of the primary colours in China in the 1960s to 1970s, due to the impact of the green uniforms worn by the Chinese People's Liberation Army (CPLA) that were highly admired by the Chinese people. In addition is the green army uniform once worn by Mao Zedong with the "Red Guard" armband on 8 August 1968 on Tian An Men (the Heavenly Peace Gate). From then till the end of the Cultural Revolution, the green army uniform was worshipped by young people as a symbol of heroism, loyalty and trust in political power. But after the reform the green uniform was rarely chosen, by contrast to blue clothes implying that choice based on the political factors had been weakened.

Authority

An advertisement in 1990 shows government officials in their visit to the

household appliance factory accompanied by members of the local authority. Almost all of them wear white shirts, a colour which symbolizes cleanliness and goodness, making its wearers appear formal and solemn as preferred by officials in a higher social position. White is a plain colour but its ideological meanings come across in terms of power and formality.

Period 3: 1991-1996

Elegance and decency

Advertisements of 1991-1996 show that the colour of highest frequency (28 percent) is white. In this period white was used for men's shirts, women's blouses, one-piece dresses, laboratory coats and women's suits. According to Sutton and Whelan (2004), "White represents purity, innocence, virtue and fidelity. [...] There's also an implication that its wearer has a high social status, since no one would wear white to perform a menial task". So white was used by advertisers in order to transmit spiritual and material elegance and decency to viewers.

Practicality

Blue was a dominant colour as in the third phase, but its rationale is for practical reasons such as sports (identifying different teams), entertainment (light blue), and work (dark blue uniform represents rationality and honesty), rather than political.

Good luck and femininity

In the first and second phases a number of Chinese female models wore red skirts, one-piece dresses, suits and blouses. Red, according to Chinese cultural conceptualizations represents good luck and power to overcome evil. Secondly women like to wear red, because "it can display the charm of

femininity at the best” (Li 2011: 38). In all the advertisements of the three phases women and girls are wearing red clothing.

Discussion

Men’s colour choices largely proved Mary Quant’s point (1984), “Masculine fabrics should be in masculine colours” – grey, white, black, herringbone, etc (cited by Hodge and Kress 2007: 104). However, colours in advertising are not limited to representing femaleness and masculinity on the surface level. They also evoke Chinese values and culture most notably in the colour red, the third most frequently appearing colour in the third phase. Red also implies excitement, strong emotions, and is dominant. Sutton and Whelan (2004: 157) state, “red attracts immediate attention and brings objects or images to the foreground [...] Red’s high visibility makes it ideal for catching viewers’ eyes in advertising”. The survey of advertisements indicates that red remains the single static, conspicuous colour in the 1980s and 1990s. In traditional Chinese cultural terms it refers to luck and happiness. But during the Cultural Revolution, it was endowed with extreme-left political meanings of liberation, revolution and the proletariat, as reflected in the posters, the red armbands of red guards and the covers of Mao’s Red Book. Red clothing was seldom seen then, because “it can display the charm of femininity at the best” (Li 2011:38). Women, both young and elderly wore dark coloured trousers and skirts in the 1960s and 1970s. Only in the 1980s were red and brightly coloured skirts worn by young women. A Chinese film in 1984, *Red Skirts in Fashion*, told how the younger generation pursued fashion, freedom of mind and individuality, and broke the mental slavery and the ideologically forbidden city after Chinese reform. Therefore, red skirts in advertising represented the 1980s trend in fashion. Changes in colour of clothing reveal the change of people’s beliefs as well as conflict between traditional and modern views.

Green, worn before the 1980s, symbolized the solemnity, glory and prestige of military men and women. Those who did not have green army uniforms would wear blue uniforms, and occasionally grey clothes. Seldom were people dressed in colours of bright yellow, pink or black, which were ideologically negative. Yellow represented the old emperor of China and the power of feudalism, pink was a symbol of the petty bourgeoisie, and "black" was considered as evil often equated with "black gangsters", and "five black varieties of people". The choice in colour was limited for the Chinese people who in order to survive the political disasters of the 1960s and 1970s, could only choose between green, blue and grey. Green and blue colours represented their values in those years, as appears in Figure 4.11. below.



Figure 4.11 Cloth colour in China before 1980

(10 years for economic system reform of China 1988)

The advertisements show that political and extreme-left ideological influences weakened after economic reform in China, and the opening of the door to western cultures. New fashions with bright colours were quickly

accepted by the Chinese people. Choice of colours was no longer dictated to by political factors, but by those of beauty, harmony, environment, fashion and social events. As Li Xiaorong stated (2011) every colour has a different characteristic, every colour scheme represents a unique emotion and individual expression. According to Sutton and Whelan (2004), "White represents purity, innocence, virtue and fidelity. [...] There's also an implication that its wearer has a high social status, since no one would wear white to perform a menial task." In an advertisement of 1990 in which government officials visit a household appliance factory accompanied by the local authority figures, almost all wear white shirts. In all three phases, of advertising white occupied the top and second positions in frequency of use and was followed by blue in frequency. Blue was used for female trousers, blouses, suits and for some men's suits. "Blue has been a symbol of fidelity, hope, and faith since ancient times. [...] Practically all our associations with blue are positive, making it an uplifting and peaceful colour" (Sutton and Whelan 2004). It has also traditionally been one of the favorite colours for the Chinese people. For instance, it is popular in goods used in their daily life, such as batik (fabric of folk art), blue and white porcelain (traditional Chinese art-ware), and blue print fabric from the past to the present. Clothing worn for formal occasions is often in dark blue. The choice of blue in the third phase unlike the first phase where it was for political reasons, is for sports (distinguishing different teams), entertainment (light blue looks distinct), and work (dark blue uniform is rational and honest) (Li 2011:62).

The analysis shows that men and women's preference towards certain colours in clothing differs. Gender was not the primary factor that influences their choice of colour, but political, cultural, economic and historical elements played significant roles. These are associated with certain ideological meanings, and the distinctive change in colours of clothing during the three time phases reflects the shift and conflict between certain

ideological values.4.2.4 Props and settings

4.2.4 Props and settings

4.2.4.1 Props

The props in the advertisements are not models. Being original, they make viewers believe that they reflect reality. In this sense, the style of the props follows the notion of realism. Props are not meaningless. As Yang Chongxiao and Xu Huadang (2011: 128) point out that props function as decoration and add shading around an object to make it stand out. They can show a kind of life style to be wealthy, luxurious or ordinary at a certain historical time. Like the image in advertising they can initiate some particular fashion and ideological value of life. These may be explicit or implicit and require viewers to draw on their existing knowledge to understand. For this, Fairclough (1989: 205) holds, "Advertisements get their audiences to draw upon ideological elements in their MR in order to establish an 'image' for the product being advertised" .

Period 1: 1981-1985

Luxury

As shown in Table A. 4 in Appendix A.4, the prop with the highest emerging frequency is the armchair at 15percent.An armchair is considered to be comfortable and looks elegant. In the 1980s when China was backward in its economy and experienced shortages of market supply, this piece of furniture was a sign of luxury because it was more expensive than ordinary chairs.

Civilization and nobility

The other interesting prop is the magazine, which ranks third in frequency (7 percent). In advertisements of the first period, magazines are either read by or held by the female models gazing at the audience. Magazines in advertisements associated with the products (e.g. washing machine, tape-recorder) evoking a frame for their life style: the products are not only used by beautiful women, but by women who like reading and learning. They are thought of as educated women in China. Reading in spare time at home, sitting in armchairs, in rooms with elegant curtains rather than doing housework, is a feature of a civilized lifestyle. As Fairclough claims (1989: 205), "the product image is produced by association, so to speak: by being associated with the elegant and efficient 'modern' lifestyle." Thus, to show the products in association with the props of magazines being read by women is to introduce an ideological function.

Period 2: 1986-1990

Combination of products and human images

The second period prioritizes products and human images. There are fewer props in the home environment than in the first phase. This indicates that the things (shown as props) people have at home are less important than what they have bought and are using; most important is the combination between human image and product, because advertisers and producers aim to have the products bought and used by consumers .

Brevity and abstract

A comparison of the advertisements of the first two phases shows that advertising in the first phase is more realistic: the props highlight wealthy living conditions and display an ideal environment for the products and the models who use them as features; some advertisements contain very few props or none at all. Advertising in the second phase pays more attention to

the products and uses fewer props than in the first phase.

Period 3: 1991-1996

Well-off lifestyle

Props used in the third period exhibit positive contextual features for products with the suggestion of a comfortable and well-off lifestyle, similar to that of the first and second periods.

Family and harmony

The sofa is among the highest frequency props (6 percent). It functions to gather the family together and create a harmonious atmosphere; for instance, in an advertisement of 1995, one group of family members is sitting together on the large sofa and singing karaoke. The other family group is watching TV.

Power over time and space

An advertisement of 1993 shows a robot image in front of Earth holding a remote control with the text saying, "The pilot of air conditioner surpasses the uncommon, controls time and space." Ideologically the robot with the remote control stands for power and the earth represents the universal elements of time and space. So the illustration and words combine to imply that the product is powerful to control the universe and help consumers with their demands. Another advertisement in 1995 for the digital amplifier for home cinema uses props taken from outer space, of Jupiter with Earth in the background. The planets show that the home cinema equipment can help consumers realize their dreams of traveling in space. (see Figure 4.12)



Figure 4.12 Advertising an amplifier (1993)

Civilization and westernized lifestyle

Props which appear only in the third phase are sails, surfboards, lifebuoys, and bicycles. These inform us that people's lives do not just rely on food and clothes, but are oriented around the quality of leisure time and recreational activities which "symbolizes civilization and progress of human beings" (Zhang 2011: 75). The props are unique in this period in being also used by non Chinese models, indicating that leisure activities are endowed with exoticism. This encourages Chinese consumers to appreciate western culture and lifestyle through the products.

Discussion

Zhang Sining, the Chinese sociologist (2011), claims in *Value Conflict and Rebuilding of Regulations of China in Transition* that in the 1950s to 1960s a newly married couple could only buy a table, bed, and thermos flask. In the late 1970s, they would be fortunate to buy watches, bicycles and a sewing machine. In the 1980s, wedding expenditure might reach about one thousand Yuan of RMB - i.e. for a wedding ceremony, banquet, new clothing, furniture such as a bed, wardrobe, table, and a pair of armchairs. At that

time, if an ordinary family could buy or make their own armchairs, its members were considered to be better off than those without armchairs: to have a pair of armchairs and a side table in the advertisements was still a symbol of dignity and prosperity. This is the real picture of the 1980s.

The advertisements in the first period show concrete props (furniture and decorations) in particular environments to create a picture of a wealthy and modern lifestyle. In the second phase, there is less emphasis on props and instead consumers are guided directly to the product. In the first phase, props and settings are emphasized so much that the product images are concealed, while in the second phase advertisers show more realistic pictures of people's wealthy living conditions by reducing the number of props and foregrounding products and human images. Therefore, the advertising strategy is of brevity and abstraction.

In the third phase the highest frequency props include sofa (6 percent), TV set (6 percent), planet (6 percent), and sail (7 percent). Compared with the other phases, the degree of high frequency of props in the third phase is not that high, but like the previous two phases, the props in the third phase present a well-off lifestyle in product promotion. For instance, in an advertisement of 1993, a woman sits on a sofa with her feet on a heating pad, transmitting a message of enjoying a comfortable and well-off lifestyle. Family members are shown enjoying singing karaoke and watching TV programs, sitting together on the sofa, using the products. Thus an atmosphere of intimacy, harmony and happiness in the Chinese family is built up. All these ideological elements add extra value to the advertised products. Another unique set of props draw more attention to the planet earth (time and space), and a robot (power) who holds the product, a remote control. Combining the themes of power, time and space the product is relevant to advanced technology.

For a long time, the Chinese people have had dreams of going to the moon

(e.g. the story of Chang Er flying to the moon) and flying around the universe; by showing images of space, advertisers aimed to tell consumers that their products, the digital amplifiers, are able to make their dreams come true without leaving home.

These planetary props indicate that what people demand today is not only food, and washing machines, as shown earlier but products that can also meet their spiritual needs; by using them, it can make them aware of space travel hence open their eyes to the world and universe outside China.

Due to the increased pace of life and material improvements in the standard of living in China since 1978, more people have adjusted their life-styles. Leisure time activities and recreation are no longer exclusive to a privileged few, they have become a common part of life for the general public. People have begun to enjoy their leisure time after work, drawing a boundary between work and recreation. Life targets are not only to complete their work, but also to have a healthy body, happy disposition and comfortable leisure time. Although the Chinese people do not take up the activities of sailing and surfing that non-Chinese people do, as shown in the illustrations, they have made other changes, such as five days of work and a weekend instead of six days of work and one day of rest. They travel domestically and abroad by train, sea and air, spending holidays at the beach and riding bikes to mountains in rural areas.

The themes of the three phases represented by the props differ in some ways. In the first phase props were presented in a more concrete way, in the second the presentation was more abstract and in the third it was more diverse and modern covering many fields. The props of the 1980s were domestic, while those of the 1990s were exotic. This reflects China's opening to the outside world by importing equipment and products from abroad but also by introducing western cultural ideologies as the dreams for Chinese consumers.

4.2.4.2 Settings

Settings are one of the contextual properties of advertising together with props designed as the background for the products. Dyer (1993: 105) maintains that in the relationship between settings, props and products "settings are carriers of meaning and are rarely value-free. They act as a context which qualifies the foreground."

Period 1: 1981-1985

The settings in the first phase cover 13 categories, most of which consist of indoor and outdoor settings. Examples of the former are: a living room, bedroom, hotel-room and study; and of the latter: a hillside, a park.

Of the indoor settings, the highest frequency is the "living room" (18 percent) and the second highest is the "hotel room" (9 percent). Of the outdoor, the highest frequent item is "in a park" (6 percent).

Well-off life and richness

In advertisements of the first period most household appliances, (e.g. the fan, TV, refrigerator and washing machine) quality furniture (e.g. armchairs and side tables) and some ornaments (e.g. flowers and art crafts) are located in the living room. The hotel rooms look more luxurious with expensive furniture, big windows, thick, beautiful curtains, tall ceilings and bright lights. All living and hotel rooms and the household appliances create images of wealth and a well off life style.

Civilization

This theme is illustrated in an advertisement of 1981 of a woman sitting in the armchair next to a tape recorder and a cassette tape box on the side-table. Nearby is a sofa displaying an open magazine, an open book and

a Chinese-English dictionary. The woman seems to be learning and listening to English signifying that she has a higher cultural and educational status. Second, a wealthy, civilized lifestyle is introduced through a set of household appliances, a spittoon, furniture, and flowerpots.

Nature and health

The outdoor setting contains two subcategories: grass and a hill. All these outdoor settings look real and natural with the sunny sky and no artificial or unusual perspectives. They offered viewers some common ideological values as nature and health.

Happiness and hedonism

In the advertisements of 1983 and 1984 (see Figure 4.13 and Figure 4.14) a group of young adults and two family members at a picnic use the tape-recorders for singing. The ideological implication is that people's leisure time is happy and family life is pleasant and peaceful. Tape-recorders are among the most favorite household appliances for consumers.



Figure 4.13 Young people singing (1983) Figure 4.14 Families on a picnic (1984)

Period 2: 1986-1990

Settings in the second phase are similar in that they consist of images, props either indoors or outdoors or with no background in order to make the products stand out. There are some new themes.

Care for children

An advertisement in 1986 for a table lamp shows a young girl standing by the lamp at a table. Her left hand is placed on a piece of paper with some marks on it. The lamp is switched on and the whole illustration is bright (see Fig.4.15). The setting is a learning environment for the child and the slogan reads, "The Double Fish table lamp is the guardian angel of eyes." The young girl is used in the setting to imply how important it is to have the product, a table lamp for a child. The advertisement is appealing to the parents' care

for children's eyesight.



Figure 4.15 A single child (1986)

Motherhood

In an advertisement of 1987, a beautiful young woman, apparently a mother, opens the refrigerator filled with food and drinks for a young girl sitting on the floor and reaching out for them. The lady smiles at the child. Another advertisement of 1989 shows a child lying on a bed next to his mother who is looking at him, as if coaxing him to sleep (see Figure 4.16). But the slogan, "The mosquito killer can bring you into a sweet dream" along with the illustration of the motherhood, suggests that the product can also create the motherly care for the child.



Figure 4.16 Motherly care (1989)

Family planning

Besides the meanings of love and motherhood, the advertisements with children have in common that fact that an only child is featured in each advertisement. This reveals the implementation of the family planning law and one child policy in the birth control movement in China.

Fantasy and good luck

In an outdoor setting for an advertisement for the electric blanket is the sky, and Du Jiang Dam, a famous historical construct in Sichuan Province for protecting people from floods. The heating blanket is floating in the sky with a lady sitting on it, imitating a mythological plot. The setting is romantic and dreamlike as the advertiser aims to attract the viewer's attention through fantasy. The slogan "The rainbow heating blanket wishes you fond dreams", shows the heating blanket is presented as more than just a commodity, but as a symbol of good luck enabling them to realize their dreams.

Period 3: 1991-1996

Expansion of life circle

In the 1990s, new settings occurred such as the meeting room, office, wild land, beach, sea, sports ground, laboratory, theater, cinema, and universe. The scale of space and time in the advertisements became broader and longer, human life styles more diverse, shown as expanding from individual homes to the outside world, the sea and the universe.

Discussion

Living rooms and hotel rooms are of the first and second highest frequencies as settings in the first period. The living room is spacious, a public place for receiving guests, taking meals, and watching TV. It is common to see household appliances such as television, refrigerator and even washing machine in the living room. During a time of short market supply these household appliances were also used to imply wealth and a well-off lifestyle. Therefore, advertisements (e.g. 1981) in the first period concentrate on many props in one place, for instance a cabinet with a small television on it, a table fan hung above the side-table, a loudspeaker with a gramophone on it near the cabinet, and three pots of flowers. All are placed along one side of the room, making the living room a crowded and dense setting (see Figure 4.17).



Figure 4.17 A living room filled with props

Although the advertisement shows an ideal, modern setting for the products some awkwardness of the old daily reality in China continues, evident in the props of spittoon implying hygiene, and simple, crude armchairs implying the wealthy life. The themes of civilization are revealed through radio-tape recorders, female readers indoors and themes of nature (including the sunny sky, hills, plantation), while hedonism and health are shown in the outdoor settings.

In the second period, with themes of fantasy and good luck, the settings of advertisements with children always show just one child in a family. This reveals the family planning and birth control policy in China, one child in one family. As Li Weixiong says in the 1970s, the principle of the family program was late marriage, fewer births, and spacing of births. Fewer births were advocated -- one is good, two are acceptable and three are too many-- a mainstream ideology since then.

(http://www.medizin-ethik.ch/publik/family_planning.htm 2012-10-19).

So children received special care from parents in China, and their eyesight became a big issue. Advertisers appealed to the parents' care for children demonstrating that the table lamp not only provides light but is important

for children's eyesight and for avoiding short-sightedness. Another advertisement implies motherhood values for a child in its product of mosquito killers.

Expansion of the life circle was the main ideological development in the third period as the increased number and diversity of these elements in the settings show. This surpassed previous ideological thinking about household appliances as labour-saving devices. New varieties of household appliances would broaden consumers' knowledge of the world, liberate their mind from daily housework and seek the pleasure of a wealthy, healthy life.

The changing settings in the three periods reveal a changing trend of ideological values. In the early 1980s materialism, physical civilization and richness were highlighted; in the late 1980s humanity was the main theme including motherhood, family planning and child-centered culture; in the 1990s, the settings imply mental freedom, and spiritual hedonism with expansion of life circle. Although these settings were artificially designed they reveal to some extent the reality of the current society and its ideological values.

Summary

In this chapter the visual data obtained from the advertisements of 1981-1996 were analyzed. The analysis covered five dimensions: the profiles of the advertisements, the appearance of the actors, their manner, their clothing, the advertisement's props and settings, across the three time periods of 1981-1985, 1986-1990 and 1991-1996. The results and findings revealed that the ideological elements embedded in the advertisements reflect the values of politics, society and economy, some of which changed along with the time periods. In the next chapter, I provide results of the data analysis on the verbal part of the advertisements over 1981-1996.

Chapter 5

Verbal Discourse Analysis

Introduction

Linguistic features can be analyzed at three levels: vocabulary, grammar and intertextuality. ("Intertextuality" is a concept which describes how one text triggers the reader to draw on other previous texts to fill out the meaning.) This chapter, which examines the ideological features, will present findings on vocabulary, grammar and intertextuality with supplementary information given in the Appendices.

5.1. Analysis of Vocabulary

Vocabulary has several values: "experiential, relational and expressive values" (Fairclough 1994: 112). Vocabulary analysis can contribute to our appreciation of ideological meanings and show evidence of ideological change over the period. This section contains three parts: experiential values; relational values; and expressive values. These will be treated in relation to the framework of functional grammar and interpreted with reference to cultural and social contexts.

5.1.1. Words of experiential values: proper nouns

Fairclough (1994) claims that experiential value refers to knowledge and beliefs. Words are taken as codes to represent the world of reality including ideologies which "give the commodity a symbolic value or 'image'" (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 152).

Throughout the three phases proper nouns include brand names, names of products, enterprises and rewards (italics in the following are mine). Data analysis shows that they refer to brand names (e.g. the *Great Wall* fan), corporate names (e.g. *Hua Feng* Radio Equipment Factory), countries (e.g.

made in China) and cities of producers (e.g. *Beijing* Refrigerator Factory). Besides the indexical function, proper nouns are endowed with some special cultural and ideological meanings.

Advertisers need to give the commodities certain images and qualities to increase their value in the competitive market. Fairclough (1994: 205) claims, "Advertisements get their audiences to draw upon ideological elements in their MR in order to establish an 'image' for the product being advertised".

In this research proper nouns were analyzed at three levels. The first level, Meaning 1, functions for recognition and index to help people identify the producers and products, referring denotatively to the name and identity of the factory, product, country, city, or government administration. The second level, Meaning 2, is the semantic meaning. The third level, Meaning 3, is connotative, metaphorical and conveys ideological values in association with Chinese traditional culture, social value, commerce, power and so on.

In what follows, three examples of brands and products are used as illustrations of the three levels (all the italics in following are mine):

1. "The State Hua Feng Radio Equipment Factory" (1981): the proper noun, "Hua Feng" can be analyzed at the three levels of meaning: 1 the name of the Radio Equipment Factory; 2 the semantic meaning of China (Hua) and prosperity (Feng); 3 reflects its ideological meaning as nationalism and patriotism.
2. "The New Long March wholesale store of hardware and electric products" (1984): 1 the name of a store, 2 a famous revolutionary event in Chinese history, 3 carrying forward the "Long March Spirit" in the present.
3. "The S&T Development Center", "S&T Week" and "Modern S&T style" (1986-1990): 1 the name of a place, 2 advance, new science and technology, 3 modernization, S&T.

Sample proper nouns selected from the three phases, shall be dealt with first, followed by a comparative analysis to identify differences between them at each phase in discussion.

For all proper nouns and their meanings at three levels, see Tables 5.1,2,3 below that illustrate the meanings of proper nouns at three levels of meaning collected from the advertisements of 1981-1996. (for detailed interpretation of the tables see Appendix B.1)

Period 1: 1981- 1985

**Table 5.1 Meanings of proper nouns in the advertisements
(1981-1985)**

Proper noun	Meaning 1 (denotative)	Meaning 2 (semantic)	Meaning3 (connotative)
Tianjin	Factory	A city	Credit, authority
Zhong Hua	Brand name	Ancient name of China	History of China
Golden Dragon	Prize for product	Value and emperor	Nationalism, soul of China
Yan Wu	Brand name	Birds flying and dancing	Prosperity, happiness
Bai Hua	Brand name	Hundreds of flowers	Prosperity
The Light Industrial Ministry	Government administrations	Authority responsible for the nationwide light industrial business	Authority, prestige
Shanxi	Prize	Province	Authority, prestige
Beijing	Factory	Metropolitan	Authority, prestige

In this table, the proper nouns are ideologically significant, displaying a number of ideological themes as shown in the following.

The proper nouns refer to six ideological themes:

Cultural elements

Such as, "the Great Wall" to symbolize China's strength and power and to remind people of Chinese cultural elements, such as China's history.

Prosperity

Such as, “Yan Wu”, which can be traced to a poem of Mao Zetong, implying a prosperous condition like birds flying and dancing in the sky.

Nationalism

For example “Hua Feng”. “Hua” is the simplified Chinese version of China, and “Feng” means plenty, wealth and harvest.

Revolutionary spirit

As in the name of a wholesale store: “the New Long March”.

High technology

Such as “Sanyo, internationally famous”, or “imported from Japan”.

Power and authority

When authoritative administrations at state, provincial and metropolitan levels are collocated with the nouns defining awards, prizes, and certificates in advertising, for instance, “Jilin Provincial Superb Quality Award for Products”.

Period 2: 1986- 1990

Table 5.2 Meanings of the proper nouns in the advertisements (1986-1990)

Proper noun	Meaning 1 (Denotative)	Meaning 2 (semantic)	Meaning 3 (connotative)
China	Region of production	Nation	National pride
Japanese (product)	Standard of product	Foreign country	Advanced technology, perfect quality
Golden fish	Brand name	Precious metal	Great wealth
Bao Bo	Brand name	Treasure wave	Long-lasting wealth
New Happiness	Brand name	Emotion of joy	Well-being life
Rainbow	Brand name	Colorful lights in the sky after raining	Auspiciousness
Jing Mei	Brand name	Beijing / beauty	Pride
Ju Hua	Brand name	Chrysanthemum	Beauty, elegance
Xiang Xue Hai	Brand name	Fragrance, snow, sea	
Bole	Brand name	Talent scout	Intelligence

Jiaying	Brand name	Beautiful oriole	Beauty, prosperity
Chinese Musician Federation	Business administration	Being responsible for qualification, approval of nationwide music matters	Authority
State-owned factory	Factory	An enterprise run by government which had the right to produce household appliance, (Huang Mi)	Privilege, credit, planned economy of socialism, reliability for quality
The designated unit by the Light Industrial Ministry	Enterprise	An enterprise trusted by the high rank authority	Credit
National unified test, quality control system	Administrative means	Being responsible for testing and controlling product quality	Credit, authority
Premier Zhao Ziyang, Vice Premier Tian Jiyun.	Top leaders in China	Highly-ranked officials managing and controlling the Chinese economy and political affairs, (proper names)	Credit, authority
Golden Flying Dragon award of S&T	Award	A big and powerful animal with claws flying in the sky and swimming in the sea	Power, credit
Modern Science and Technology	Award	Modern, science, technology	Modernization of S&T

As shown in the table, the proper nouns can be grouped to show the following ideological themes.

The proper nouns refer to four ideological themes:

Nationalism

To persuade prospective customers about the quality of products some advertisements appealed to people's faith in the nation by using "China", "national", "Chinese".

Cultural connotation

Brand names such as “Double Fish” (“Fish” in Chinese is pronounced “yu” meaning rich and surplus), “Double” means luck, “Double Fish” reflects the notion of Yin (negative, black) and Yang (positive, white) and symbolizes the harmonious relationship between heaven, earth and human beings.

Authority and credit

By using institutional names, such as “Light Industrial Ministry, Guangdong Province, and the names of top leaders such as “Comrade Deng Xiaoping”.

Modernization, science and technology

The ideological elements of modernization in science and technology can be seen in the names and titles of “The S&T Development Center” “S&T Week” and “Modern S&T style” and “the Excellent New Product Award”.

Period 3: 1991- 1996

Table B.1.3 below illustrates the three levels of meaning collected from the advertisements of 1991-1996.

Table 5.3 Meanings of proper nouns of 1991-1996

Proper noun	Meaning 1 (denotative)	Meaning 2 (semantic)	Meaning 3 (connotative)
Hua Li	China, splendor /profit	company	Nationalism, making profit
Mengmei (Mermaid)	Dream	Brand name	Earnestly longing, wish
Lankai (Lanka)	Triumph	Company	Success, accomplishment
Hua Xiang	China / auspiciousness	Factory	Nationalism, auspiciousness
Li Xing	Profit/prosperity	Company	Profit creation, prosperity
Xing Xing	Stars	Company	Outstanding, potential development
Tong Bao	Extension in all directions/treasure	Corporation	Smooth development, making profit
Yi You	Mentor, good friend	Company	Reliable friendship, harmony

Jia Li	Fine / profit, interest	Factory	Extremely good profit
He Ping	Peace	Factory	Without fight, harmony
Xiao Tian Er	Little swan	Corporation	Purity, loveliness
Xiao Tian Cai	Little talent	Brand name	Intelligence, loveliness
Xing Ke	Star / science	Factory	Potential development, science
Yuan Da	Far / achieve	Company	Strength, power, accomplishment
Hua Guang	China / light, bright	Group	Nationalism, promising future
Wu You	Without worry and anxiety	Brand name	Freedom, harmony
Shun Xin	Conformation / new	Company	Harmony
Chao Shiji	Cross-century	Technology institute	Fast development
Jing Cheng	Absolute sincerity, good faith	Company	Sincerity, harmony
Hua Lu	China, heron	Company	Elegance, high quality
Hua Jia	Picture, beautiful, fine	Brand name	Perfect quality, beauty
TianTong	Heavenly / paradise (any place of complete bliss and delight and peace) communication	Company	Smooth development
Zhen Shi	Real vision	Brand name	Perfect quality, truth

In this table, the proper nouns are ideologically significant, displaying these ideological themes.

The proper nouns refer to four ideological themes:

Nationalism and business growth

Companies still used “Hua” (China) as their names, for example, even when many enterprises joined with foreign companies as joint ventures and “Hua” was used in association with “Li” (profit), “Xiang” (splendor), “Guang” (light and brightness), demonstrating the desire for business to grow with increasing profits.

Harmony

The ideological value of harmony is seen in “He Ping” (peace, without conflict), and “Yi You” (mentor and friendship) as producers name their

enterprises in order to convince consumers they are their trustworthy friends aiming to maintain this harmonious relationship.

Profit

Some companies express profit making in their names, such as Sino-Overseas Joint Venture, Xuzhou "Hua Li" Mould Co. Ltd (1991). "Li" (profit) is defined as material gain, acquisitiveness and goods. However, in China, "Yi" (rightness, loyalty, friendship and justice) is more important than profit.

Development of business

Corporate names in this period are embedded with the meaning of development, including "Chao Shi Ji", meaning to surpass the century and suggesting high speed development in business, a concept highly valued by Deng Xiaoping.

These proper nouns reflect particular ideological matters of that time; they mediate currently dominant attitudes to history, nature, and so on, as if they were universally true and valid (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 152), so it is worth addressing them ideologically.

Discussion

In China the names of enterprises normally consist of three parts: the regional name, the statement of the corporation's intentions, and the type of unit and its major business: for example, the "Zhejiang Xing Ke (Star Science) Communications Equipment Factory". The words used as the first part of corporate names also express deeper ideological meanings which can be examined in relation to the three levels of meaning: in this example "Zhejiang" at Meaning 1 is the location of the factory; Meaning 2 indicates the Province which issues the license; Meaning 3 invokes authority and

control. The second part (for example, "Xing Ke" - Star Science) can be analysed to discover ideological traces. Table B.1.4 in Appendix B.1 compares the themes identified in the three time periods, along with a detailed analysis, and these findings are summarized here.

In the first phase, ideological meanings such as nationalism, authority, socialism were politically oriented. Some proper nouns of prosperity and happiness have no obvious political colour, but may reflect on the one hand an era following a long period of class struggle which was considered as the top priority in China before 1978, and on the other the beginning of Chinese economic construction understood as the central work of the Chinese Communist Party since 1978.

In the second phase new proper nouns were employed increasing the variation of ideological elements from six to 15, ranging from ancient to present day values, such as intelligence, modernization, authority; from materialism to Chinese philosophy such as wealth, auspiciousness, harmony. This suggests that the ideological domain moved from political and national values apparent in the first period, to values of life, material science, technology and spirit.

In the third phase, the variety of proper nouns increased further expanding on traditional Chinese cultural and political notions such as "fish", "dragon", and "the Long March". Earlier ideological values were replaced by new ones such as development, friendship, truth, success, profit, indicating that along with economic growth ideological values dominated by political notions had weakened. Third phase advertisements appealed to peoples' emotions by introducing new proper nouns with new ideological elements to encourage consumer's trust in the companies, brand names and their factories.

In peeling off the layers of meaning of the proper nouns used in the advertisements of 1981-1996, some ideological meanings can be determined from their experiential values. Proper nouns have two functions:

to convey more favorable messages about the attributes of producers and products; secondly, to reinforce values of culture, belief and feeling.

Comparison between the ideologies of the different phases shows a particular relationship between the type of ideology and the historic time period; hence the ideological input in the proper nouns has changed over time.

5.1.2 Words of relational value: personal pronouns

Words of relational values are seen to reflect the social relationship between the participants of advertising discourse; that is, they are considered as the language property (in the way of euphemism or formality) used in advertising discourse for relational reasons, such as to "create relationships between participants" (Fairclough 1994: 116), or to maintain and enhance relationships.

One device for establishing relations in advertising is the personal pronoun such as "you" ("your"), "we" ("our"), "I", "she", "he". These have different relational values, as Cook points out:

Ads use all three persons, but in peculiar ways. "We" is the manufacturer; "I" is often the adviser, the expert, the relater of experiences and motives leading to purchase of the product; the "he/she" is very often the person who did not use the product, distanced by this pronoun, and observed conspiratorially by "you" and "I".

(2001: 157)

Ideologically speaking, the producer and advertiser use the second person pronoun "you" to indicate intimacy, show solidarity and shorten the distance between themselves and consumers. But in Chinese, second person

pronouns have two forms: T-form (tu) and V-form (vous). T-form (you) represents the second person pronoun, used for intimate address to someone at the same age or younger than the speaker, or who is familiar. V-form (you) is used for polite address, to someone who is older or in a higher position than the speaker or who is unfamiliar. These two forms of "you" comprise a system, as Fairclough suggests (1994: 71) "based on solidarity". Solidarity is ideological, because "constituting subjects is what ideology is all about – all ideology is in one way or another to do with positioning subjects" (Althusser cited by Fairclough 1994:105); it "distinguishes relatively intimate relations from more distant ones" (Hudson 2000: 47), and reflects the degree of social relationship and distance.

See the following examples (all the italics in the following are mine):

1. "Using Bat household appliances can bring great happiness to *your* (V-form) life" (1981-1985).

In this clause "your" is used in the V-form as an honorific title to show respect for and politeness towards addressees; it also reflects social distance between addressers and addressees.

2. "Help *you* succeed" (1991-1996).

The T-form is used to address someone close to the addresser such as friends, relatives, acquaintances and coworkers.

Both forms for "you" (V-form), "you" (T-form) are based on the ideological value of solidarity because advertisers constitute subjects either in an equal (intimate) or unequal (distant) position in order to construct a relationship with possible consumers.

Other pronouns, such as the first person plural "we" or "our", convey the

meaning of solidarity with a double reference in terms of degree: "the so-called 'inclusive' *we*, that is of the reader as well as the writer, as opposed to 'exclusive' *we*, which refers to the writer (or speaker) plus one or more others, but does not include the addressee(s)" (Fairclough 1994: 127). These functions of inclusion and exclusion reveal the social relationship between the producers and consumers with the ideological value of solidarity or unity, for example:

"*Our* company is responsible for protecting consumers' interest".

(1991-1996)

In this clause the personal pronoun "our" shows the unity of the company itself rather than unity between company and consumers. The ideological meaning of the "our" is exclusion as it emphasizes the company's uniqueness.

Personal pronouns collected from the advertisements from 1981 to 1996 are displayed in the clausal examples and tables in Appendix B.2, Tables B.2.1,2,3. The following are personal pronouns analysed in terms of their ideological meanings.

Period 1: 1981-1985 (two themes)

Solidarity (politeness and distance)

"The State Hua Feng Radio Equipment Factory provides the box fan of Ice Peak, Type 79-2 for *you*" (V-form).

The second person pronoun 'you' (V-form) is used for solidarity, due to the unfamiliar, commercial relationship between speaker and addressee; the speech includes the ideological elements of politeness and distance.

Unity (inclusion)

"The Beijing Refrigerator Factory is one of the earliest, biggest factories for producing refrigerators in *our* country". "Our" refers to China to which addressees belong and so implies unity between producer and consumers.

Unity (exclusion, singleness)

"Those who need the products contact *our* factory directly".

In this clause, "our" has the ideological meaning of unity referring to the single unit, the factory separated from consumers and so exclusive.

Period 2: 1986-1990 (three themes)

Solidarity (intimacy, politeness, respect and distance)

"If *you*(T-form) choose a washing machine, Xin Le series products can help *you* (V-form) get both the best quality and the latest style" (my italics and all italics in following are mine).

In this clause, two forms of the second person pronoun are employed with the ideological meanings of intimacy and politeness.

Unity (exclusion)

"*Our* factory is one of the big washing machine factories appointed by the Light Industrial Ministry".

"Our" refers to the specific factory which produces washing machines, and does not include other factories.

Solidarity (politeness and distance)

"Offer *you* the best heating product".

The V-form personal pronoun "you" is polite and shows respect for consumers.

Period 3: 1991-1996 (four themes)

Uniqueness and individuality

"It is what *I* have been earnestly longing for".

Here the first person pronoun "I" sounds like a consumer at last finding their desired product. This statement emphasizes personal and individual desire and the terms "earnestly" and "have been longing for" strengthen the unique, special value of the product.

Solidarity (intimacy and responsibility)

"Help *you* succeed in one stroke".

The T-form of the second person pronoun "you" in the clause, expresses intimacy and responsibility for ensuring one's success.

Solidarity (politeness and respectfulness)

"It is *your* best choice".

This example of the V-form "you", implies our product is worth buying. Furthermore it delivers the value of solidarity through politeness and respectfulness.

Femininity (unconventionality)

"*She* is suitable for any kind of color TV".

The female personal pronoun “she” is used to refer to the TV remote controller, although conventionally the inanimate pronoun ‘it’ should be used. The product is personified as female for distinctiveness and difference from the conventional use.

Discussion

This analysis aims to identify the relational values of the personal pronouns in advertisements across all three time periods. Generally speaking, the second person pronoun “you” in the V-form is used more than other pronouns, aiming to foreground respectfulness and politeness. This implies that the relationship between the producer and consumer is based on a system of solidarity but is not a close or intimate relationship, because in reality it is commercial, determined by the business domain of sale and purchase. This relationship can reflect a kind of inequality and the politeness expressed by the speakers is not equivalent to the young showing respect for the old, or the low-ranking subject showing respect for the higher ranking. But the purpose of politeness and distance in advertising products is to make consumers feel comfortable, respected, and so willing to buy the products. Therefore, solidarity with politeness and respect is commercial-oriented.

The other finding of the analysis is that more diverse personal pronouns were employed in the third time period: the first person singular pronoun and the third person pronoun were used, emphasizing ideological values of uniqueness, individuality and femininity (see Appendix B.2, Table B.2.3). These features might suggest that such ideological concepts could have gained their acceptance since 1990, reflecting changes in people’s minds since Chinese economic reform.

Although there are various linguistic forms for maintaining particular kinds

of social relations based on solidarity between producers, admen and audience are maintained by various linguistic forms the relationship "is disciplined by the profit motive" (Heywood 2007: 53). A crucial factor in determining the choice of linguistic elements is the profit-making motive.

The next section will deal with the third dimension of vocabulary and expressive values. These include the choice of nominal groups and modality.

5.1.3. Words of expressive values: nominal groups

"Expressive value is a trace of and a cue to the producer's evaluation of the bit of the reality it relates to" (Fairclough 1994: 112). Choice of words can reflect the speaker's and writer's evaluation of an object, person or event in social practice, which shows their attitudes and bias. Evaluation implies positive and negative values concerning what is desirable or undesirable, and good or bad. "The values of words are again ideologically significant" (Fairclough 2007: 172). They are realized by words with evaluative elements in statements.

This section will focus on the nominal groups obtained from advertisements in the three phases to explore their expressive values. A quantitative analysis of the nominal groups will be conducted to reveal some of the ideological features in the advertisements of the three periods.

Nominal groups consist of a noun, one or more adjectives, an adverb, adjective or a prepositional phrase, even an embedded clause.

Adjectives are defined by Dyer (1993) as trigger words because they can stimulate envy, dreams and desires by evoking looks, touch, taste, smell and sounds without actually misrepresenting a product. Through the use of adjectives copywriters intend to create positive images of products in respect of variety, quality and function, or even the emotion of consumers

(e.g. "the most reliable", "the best products" "service the most thorough" and 'the most comfortable enjoyment'). Sometimes nouns in the nominal groups acquire expressive values through being collocated with adjectives.

The modifier "serves to specify in detail what the product is like and how it works" (Leech 1966: 126); modifiers have a more explicit connection to expressive values in answering questions about one's attitude and opinion (i.e. positive or negative evaluation) about something.

Thompson (2000: 65) maintains, "The choice of evaluation reflects and reinforces the ideological values of the culture". That is, adjectives which are employed to modify nouns contain ideological value. This is true of the sample advertisements in the research, as for example:

1. "A 30-year rich production experience" (1982). The modifier of this nominal group claims that the factory has a lengthy production period to make people believe in the quality and technology of its product the theme of history—it is more the theme of "age" and "longevity" of "durability" that is invoked to increase the prestige of the producer.
2. "Introduced from foreign countries" (1986). Ideologically, the two adjectives as modifiers can be understood as referring to technological advance, because in the 1980s key parts of household appliances relied on imported components.
3. "luxurious" design of exterior appearance (1996). The ideological value of this modifier is considered to be rich, high-standard and special; these connotations suggest that the advertiser wants to impress consumers with the appearance of uniqueness and wealth; the sense of style, comfort and elegance transmitted may be seen ideologically as referring to the leisured lifestyle.

Most adjectives as modifiers in nominal groups are collocated with nouns. With a higher frequency than nouns and verbs, they appear dominant in nominal groups and are used for evaluating products. Nominal groups are normally informative in two respects: nouns as heads tell what elements and functions the product possesses and adjectives as modifiers tell how or what these elements are like. The heads in advertisements are generally expressed by concrete and abstract common nouns.

A critical analysis of nouns shows that some have a specific ideological implication with expressive value. For instance, the word '*experience*' is used of a state-owned factory; "Beijing Xue Hua (Snow Flake) Refrigerator Factory has long experience in producing refrigerators" (1983). The reference to the adjective "long" in a long history in production, associates "experience" with technological maturity, strong capacity for production and guaranteed quality. From the sample nominal groups it appears that other nouns functioning as heads have expressive values like "science and technology" (S&T), "efficiency", "convenience", "economy" and so on. They imply and back up the general ideological value of "advance" and "advantage", playing a similar evaluative function as adjectives. Similarly "prize", "reward", and "Light Industrial Ministry" refer to the "prestige" of products and producers.

Whether combined with adjectives that have expressive value or appearing independently, nouns in nominal groups can also provide evaluative information of products, assisting manufacturers to publicize the superiority of their enterprises. It is of further value to the research to establish what ideological values the nominal groups, especially the modifiers may contain.

As adjectives are the most significant components in the sample advertisements, and due to the time and space limit, this analysis will focus on them only as modifiers in nominal groups of the three time periods. More

detailed discussion on modifiers and heads and their combination in nominal groups is given in Appendix B.3, "Notions of nominal group", Table B.3.1. Adjectives functioning as predicates at the clausal level will be analyzed in the Grammar section. In order to identify the ideological meaning of adjectives in nominal groups, adjectives in nominal groups have been categorized into several themes, each of which represents a particular ideological value, and points to their ideological meaning (for this, see Appendix B.3, "Setting up themes").

Finally, 17 categories of themes were formulated in reference to the ideological indicators established by the Chinese scholars, Chen Subai(2011) Zhao Jinjing(2012), and Chen Hong (1996), who have analyzed the general ideological elements in Chinese advertising. They are: "advance", "advantage", "aestheticism", "prestige", "economy", "fashion", "function", "individuality", "passion", "quality", "scale", "service", "uniqueness", "variety", "wealth", "nature" and "human" (see Appendix B.3, Table B.3.2).Even so, there are problems in defining accurately all the general and abstract themes, especially newly created themes. It was decided to combine each general theme with more concrete concepts that can be considered as comprising specific ideologies, because "Specifying the different dimensions of a concept often paves the way for a more sophisticated understanding of what we're studying" (Babbie 2003: 124).

It should be pointed out that these indicators of general and specific themes include objective and subjective ones. Conceptualizing the nominal groups into ideological themes can hardly avoid the factors of my personal understanding and interpretation of meaning; yet this may be one of the more rational and practical ways to measure particular ideological meanings in words of expressive values. Thus, I agree with Cook (Cook 2001: 13) that to tolerate fuzzy and indeterminate areas between concepts and prototype

theory is unavoidable in qualitative analysis. The results of the analysis are given below.

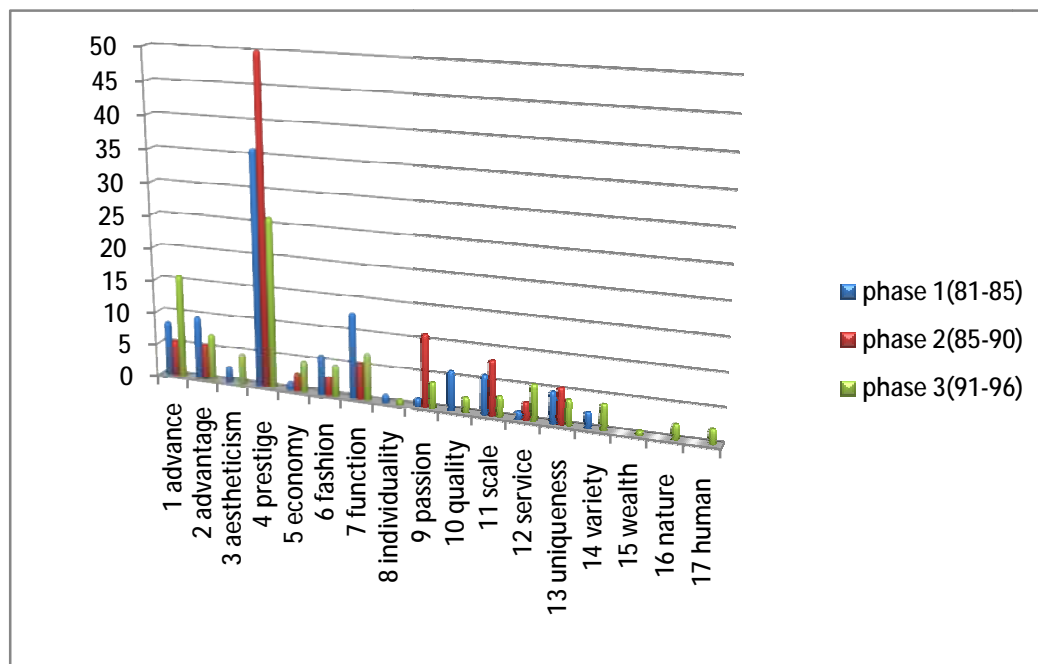


Figure 5.1 Frequency of ideological themes of 1981-1996

As illustrated in Figure.5.1, the advertisements of each phase contain a variable number of ideological elements. So these figures also provide us with a dynamic picture of ideological values in the three phases. For instance, a theme occurring at a higher frequency in one phase may not occur with the same frequency in the other phases. Themes contained in one phase or another may not reappear in other phases. Most significant is the theme of "prestige" which is extremely high in all three phases, being 36 percent, 50 percent and 26 percent respectively. This confirms that throughout all phases "prestige" was a constantly emphasized ideological value.

"Prestige" is realized by adjectives which can be further categorized into specific sub-themes such as, "authority", "entirety", "excellence", "experience", "globalism", "history", "nationalism", "popularity", "qualification", "status", "quality", "strictness", "permanence"

"reliability", "superiority", "novelty", "profit-making", "perfection". (see Appendix B.3, Table B.3.3).

The following analysis lists for each period the adjectives and specific sub-themes by which theme of "prestige" is expressed; it defines ten sub-themes and it shows that "prestige" has the highest frequency in the third phase (the following adjectives and sub-themes are presented by me in italics).

Period One: 1981-1985.

"*Imported* timer from Japan"; the adjective implies the ideological meaning of excellence, quality.

"*Appointed* factory by LIM"; the adjective indicates the value of authority and qualification.

"*Key* enterprise"; the adjective conveys the meaning of importance, and a close relationship to the government authority.

"*The oldest* factory"; this adjective implies the long history of production, experience, reliability and superiority of their products.

"Shanxi *provincial high-quality* award"; the adjectives expresses the value of authority, and reliability of the products.

"*Golden* dragon award"; the symbol of a high standard award for products of excellence and superiority

"*National initiative* and *new* product title"; the adjectives include the value of novelty.

Period 2: 1986-1990

"**High-quality** title"; the adjective conveys the meaning of superiority and quality.

"**Big** washing machine factory"; the size of the factory offers us the concept of reliability and excellence.

"**High-quality** certificate"; the adjective stands for quality and reliability.

"**Large international** fair"; the adjectives contain the meaning of globalism.

"**The biggest** department store of China"; the adjectives implies the superiority of the store in China.

"**Golden** sound award"; the adjective means the value of quality and status of the product.

"**The most popular** product"; the adjective conveys the value of popularity and excellence.

"**State-owned** machine factory"; the adjective can imply authority, reliability and superiority.

"**Domestic** and **foreign vanguard** assembly line"; the adjectives refer to nationalism, globalism.

Period 3: 1991-1996

"**National second** level enterprise"; the adjectives convey meanings of authority and status.

"**The first designated** factory of remote control by The Electronic Industrial Ministry"; the adjectives reveal the meaning of authority, qualification and status.

"**Super quality** award"; the adjective expresses the concept of superiority.

"**The first of the best ten** advertising units"; the adjectives express meanings of perfection and initiation.

"**Imported** electric accessories"; the adjective expresses the meaning of the reliability and quality of products.

"**Advanced** enterprise of quality and **profit-making**"; the two adjectives express meanings of reliability and profit-making.

"**International golden** prize of the Chinese Household Appliance Association"; the adjectives convey meanings of globalism and superiority.

"**The most satisfactory** product"; the adjective represents superiority and popularity.

"**Life-time** warrant"; the adjective conveys permanence and reliability.

"Domestic and international well-known enterprise" expresses notion of fame and excellence.

"**Multi-national** certification"; the adjective conveys concepts of excellence, globalism.

"**High-quality** and **profit-making** enterprise"; these adjectives express the values of quality, qualification and making profit.

The examination of the elements involved in establishing connotations of prestige revealed some common and contrasting features in the three phases.

Discussion

The specific subthemes expressed by the adjectives for “prestige” that occur in each of the three phases refer to foreign products (e.g. imported electric accessories), authority (e.g. the appointed factory by LIM), product quality (e.g. super-quality reward), social position of unit (e.g. the biggest department store of China, the first of the ten best advertising units) and history (e.g. the oldest factory). These subthemes common to all phases suggest that they represent the ideological values primarily preferred by advertisers.

Differences in the subthemes for “prestige” in the three phases are in the state-owned machine factory used in the second phase, where the adjective “state-owned” implies the themes of authority, reliability, superiority and ownership. The phrase “state-owned” enterprise in the advertisement, allows the advertiser to remind people that the factory was owned by the government. The reason is explained by, Zhang Wenkui, a Chinese scholar (2014: XIX) that the state ownership was given the dominantly higher position than other ownerships, therefore, even the state-owned enterprises were inefficient they could the privileged resource allocation.

The superiority and advantage of the state-owned enterprise in relation to its productive capacity, product quality, technological strength and the privileged policy due to its government ownership, suggest high prestige for them. In this, both production and producer are foregrounded.

In the third phase, the concept of “profit-making” was adopted by enterprise, which explains that the prestige of an enterprise’s prestige refers not only to its production and ownership, but more specifically to its profit-making potential; this can be seen as one indicator of corporate commercial achievements in the market competition and of how much the enterprise’s products were valued in the marketplace, and purchased according to consumer response. The list of adjectives (modifiers) of the three periods

shows that in the 1980s one of the most important indicators of prestige was the award or the title of excellence bestowed by the government. But in the 1990s, international and global certificates and recognition were additionally used by the advertisers for showing their technological power, productive capacity and corporate identity. The ideological value of globalization for Chinese business in this respect was in adding extra value to the prestige of an enterprise and its products.

Besides the very high frequency of “prestige” in the three phases, other themes in each phase have individual frequencies. (see Table 5.4)

Table 5.4 Ideological themes of higher frequency

Period	Theme (ideological)
Period 1	advance, advantage, function
Period 2	passion, scale
Period 3	advance, advantage, function

In the first phase, the higher frequencies occur with the themes of “advantage” and “function”. In the second phase, however, “passion” has a higher frequency, while in the third phase the frequency of “advance” increases again. The difference in the distribution of higher frequencies between each phase suggests that advertising products and enterprises pursue a simple, straightforward path to a more emotional or complex appeal, then return to the strategy of a more rational appeal.

Although some themes did not have a high frequency in advertisements of the third phase, being on average below 5 percent, they have not been ignored, because themes such as economy, wealth, human, nature and so on, first occurred only in the 1990s. The emergence of these themes

confirms that the quality and technology of products themselves were no longer the only issues to be concerned with in advertising, for these now included product promotion. In the third period a number of concrete concepts emerged such as "low cost", "benefit", "luxury", "profit-making", "intelligence", "health and environment", all suggestive of ideological change in China. As far as benefit and profit-making are concerned, Pang (2011: 303) points out, "justice outweighing benefit is always crucial in traditional Chinese moral ideology. Chinese people inspired by this doctrine would give up ultimate pursuit for benefit". The same is true of the word for luxury during the years before 1978: under the influence of the Chinese official consumption policy, the national consumption culture encouraged the Chinese people to work hard and live plainly and thriftily (Zhao 2012: 41). The desire for a luxury life style was considered as negative bourgeois ideology and opposed to the Chinese socialist ideology. Another scholar, Fu Baozong, held that in 1978, the third session of the eleventh Chinese Communist Party Conference decided to focus their work on the modernization of socialist construction by regulating the relationship between heavy and light industries and by prioritizing the faster development of light industry over that of heavy industry (Fu 2008).

From the analysis of the themes realized by the nominal groups, particularly the modifiers, the claim can be made that, along with the introduction of a marketing economy, people became more materialistic.

The other three themes of "human being", "nature" (including the environment) and "health-care" were first used in the 1990s. The application of these notions reflects the fact that concern for human well-being and nature increased, suggesting a kind of ideological progress as people began to take some responsibility for environmental issues, even though this is no more than a strategy for admen to appeal to the emotions

of consumers.

5.2 Analysis of Grammar

Like vocabulary grammar has three values: “experiential, relational and expressive values” (Fairclough 1994: 111). In communicating textually about affairs, social events, personal opinions and relationships with others, choices can be made between different grammatical features which consist of processes, participants, modes and components of clauses. “The selection of what is made can be ideologically significant” (Fairclough 1994: 120).

This section analyses the ideologically significant values that are embedded in the grammatical elements. While exploring the ideological features in the grammatical dimension, I need to show these features as reflecting and influencing the change in ideological values during the three periods. This analysis will be conducted using the theoretical framework of Fairclough’s three values of grammatical features (1994, 2006): experiential value, relational value and expressive value.

5.2.1 Grammar of experiential values: transitivity

According to Fairclough:

The experiential aspects of grammar have to do with the ways in which the grammatical forms of a language code happenings or relationships in the world, the people or animals or things involved in those happenings or relationships, and their spatial and temporal circumstances, manner of occurrence, and so on.

(1994: 120)

When an action, event, object, idea and people’s relationships are talked

about, the choice made for utterances of a certain type of process and participants may be ideologically significant. Therefore, Thomson (2000: 91) states, "an investigation of ideological values can be rewardingly based on an analysis of the experiential values used in identifying clauses". The analysis in this part is concerned primarily with transitivity: processes and participants of clauses used in particular circumstances, here in advertising discourse.

"These provide the frame of reference for interpreting our experience of what goes on" (Halliday 1985: 100). Regarding the term of transitivity, it is used in a wider sense than the traditional grammars. "Here it refers generally to how meaning is represented in the clause. It shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them" (Simpson 1993: 88). Transitivity is concerned with expressing ideas and bears the ideational function. Therefore, in terms of transitivity, clauses are interpreted as different kinds of processes, participants and circumstances (see Appendix B.4.1 for Notions of transitivity: the Material process, Relational process, Mental process and Behavioral process).

The experience of the real world to some extent is represented by the grammatical system of "transitivity" and construed into "a manageable set of processes" (Halliday 2008: 106). Fowler (1991: 70) points out that transitivity makes certain options available; we are always suppressing some possibilities, so the choice made by the discourse, indicating our point of view, is ideologically significant. Therefore, with the concept of transitivity the experiential value suggested by Fairclough will be observed in the analysis of the grammatical features that represent the world and disclose ideological meaning. Referring to the functional notion of transitivity we will analyse the advertising language to identify the types of processes and

participants on the one hand, and probe further into the ideologically significant issues within the clauses on the other.

The grammatical features with experiential value in this section are examined with reference to the advertising headlines of the three phases: 1981-1985, 1986-1990 and 1991-1996. The headline is a significantly important part of print advertising because of its high frequency, according to my analysis. First, the headline is an introduction to the advertisement; it is usually located in an eye-catching place, presented in catchy phrases and it conveys the core message, the essential points for readers before they read the body copy. As Arens and Schaefer (2007: 244) point out, "the headline contains the words in the leading position in the advertisement". The words in the headline will be read first and they are positioned to attract the most attention.

Secondly, the headline is a key element in print advertising because it conveys the main message so that people can easily and quickly understand the main points. So only very few people - "20%" - who scan headlines read the rest of the advertisements' content (Wells, Burnett and Moriarty 2006: 390). Thirdly, headlines are used to attract the audience, and lead them to the content of the advertisement. They are often written in compact sentences, but many also consist of just a word group or phrase. Words and clauses often appear in bold letters of larger type than other parts of the advertisement in order to highlight the theme or topic. Thus, effective headlines do not merely rely on practical information but also on the type and size of words and clauses intended to catch the audience's attention first. In the following section, analysis of the headlines will focus on their grammatical features.

The results of analyzing the frequency of the headlines obtained from advertisements in the three phases are shown in the following tables (Tables

5.5,6,7). Nearly all of the advertisements contain headlines.

Table 5.5 Number of headlines (1981-85)

Element	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	Total	Percentage
Advert	6	2	6	4	10	28	
Headline	5	2	5	3	10	25	89.2%

Table 5.6 Number of headlines (1985-90)

Element	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	Total	Percentage
Advert	5	7	3	2	1	18	
Headline	5	7	3	2	0	17	94.4%

Table 5.7 Number of headlines (1991-96)

Element	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	Total	Percentage
Advert	3	2	4	9	8	10	36	
Headline	3	2	4	9	8	9	35	97.2%

There are 25 headlines in 28 advertisements produced in the period 1981-85, 17 headlines in 18 advertisements between 1986-90 and 35 headlines in 36 advertisements between 1991-96. The difference of frequency between the advertisements taken from the three phases is not so significant. They are as follows: 89.2 percent for the first phase, 94.4 percent for the second phase, and 97.2 percent for the third phase. This suggests that headlines are one of the essential components of advertising

texts across all the periods of time.

As the transitivity of headlines is demonstrated by different kinds of processes, the analysis aims to identify the particular types of processes used in the three phases. Since some consist only of a single word or short phrase without any verb, the fundamental element to represent the process of transitivity, it is, therefore, impossible to identify their processes independently. To avoid this problem, the choice made for selecting the sample headlines for analysis is based on three criteria:

- a. a complete clause; e.g. "The State-owned Hua Feng Wireless Electric Appliance Factory provides you with the 79-2 box-type fans of the Icy Peak" (1981).
- b. an incomplete clause with a verb and an implied participant; e.g. "Move about freely and quickly" (1996).
- c. an incomplete clause without a verb but the process type can be understood in the context; e.g. "Tian Tong Electric Appliances (are) new everyday, and different every month"(1996).

As shown by the results of the analysis (see Appendix B.4, Tables B.4.1-6), two principal types of process appear in these samples: 26 material processes and 9 relational processes, with two other types, namely, three mental processes and one behavioral process. These clauses are formed in the declarative mood. Some ideological meanings are revealed by these process types, as illustrated by the following examples:

Clauses in the material process

"The Swallow Dancing radio-recorder presents a gift to the National Day" (1984).

"Shenyang Yi Li Electric Appliance Production Company pays tribute to the mass consumers" (1994).

The choice of a material process reflects and reinforces the functions of language with ideological values. First, what is emphasized is an Action. Secondly, Actors who undertake the action are enterprises and products which are inanimate rather than particular persons, but active and dominant in the interaction. Thirdly, the Beneficiaries are in the case of advertising discourse, the National Day and mass consumers. We can interpret these clauses as if the enterprises and products take action to benefit the respected customers rather than the advertisers, and businessmen who are selling them.

Clauses in the relational process

"The Four-star double-door refrigerator has a big freezing chamber which freezes fast" (1987).

"Yuan Da color TV remote control system is your best choice" (1995).

These clauses of relational process focus on the advantage and merits of products as the Carriers (subjects) whose attribute has the status of a static state. Its existence appears to be natural and objective, apparently caused by neither an animate nor inanimate presence. Therefore, while the merits and advantages of products are placed in the foreground, the role of producer as a seller for profit is hidden.

Clauses in the mental process

"The Stars understand my heart" (1994).

The subject (Senser) of the mental process is inanimate. Through

personification of the product's brand name, the producer can feel and understand the customer's heart.

The variation of "commodity-centered" advertising into an "advertisement with feeling" is to "emotionalize commodities which becomes a warm stream to act on consumers delicately and easily" (Jiang and Dai 2002: 118).

Clauses in the behavior process

"Move about freely and quickly, Mermaid remote control" (1996).

From the headline in the advertisement one can see that the behavior is performing his conscious wish to move about freely and quickly with Mermaid remote control.

Sample clauses of different processes selected from the three phases shall be analyzed at each phase and then discussed.

Period 1: 1981-1985

In this period the clauses have two types of process:

Material process

"The Great Wall fan serves you wholeheartedly" (1984).

This clause of material process shows us the process of doing with the verb "serve" and the adverbial "wholeheartedly", which convey loyalty and service. The product is personified to do human work for consumers. The process aims to show respect for and care about consumers.

Relational process

"The Zhong Hua (China) electric cup produced by the Third Tianjin

Household Appliance Factory is smart in shape, safe and reliable, cheap in price and economical in use" (1981).

Realized in the relational process, the expression, "produced by", removes the sense of movement and action by avoiding the participant of initiator, so that the Carrier's ("electric cup") attributes have the status of a static state, apparently existing as a real and natural fact.

Period 2: 1986-1990

In this period the clauses have three types of process:

Material process

"Offer you the best heating product, Pure Beauty heating blanket" (1986).

The action conducted by the material process states that the producer gives consumers the best product. Though the subject is omitted, it is the producer and advertiser who intend to sell the product. The verb 'to offer' conveys the speaker's real purpose which is to sell and meanwhile it covers the real purpose of the speaker's action.

Relational process

"Jia Ying electric pianos have the most rewards and are well-known in China and abroad" (1988).

The first clause shows the relationship of possession with the verb "have"; "Jia Ying electric pianos" are the Carrier, and possessor of the rewards and "the most rewards" is the Attribute. The second clause shows a similar relational process of Carrier and Attribute. Both are to inform people of the real fame of the products.

Mental process

"The Rainbow heating blanket wishes you a sweet dream" (1987).

The product, usually an inanimate participant in the clause, is personified to express a wish and seems to show the producer's emotional concern about consumers.

Period 3: 1991-1996

In this period the clauses have four types of process:

Material process

"The Peace TV remote control can change your ordinary color TV into the remotely controlled one" (1994).

The clause of doing sounds euphemistic with no direct assertion of a commercial transaction. The purpose is to let people know what the product, the remote control, can do to help consumers convert ordinary TV into a better one because the TV can be operated remotely with the device.

Relational process

"The consumers are most satisfied with the household appliances produced with Hua Li molds" (1991).

This clause is written by the producer but structured in the pattern of Carrier ('consumers') and Attribute ('satisfied with the household appliances') conveying positive public attitudes towards the products which seems to sound fair and objective without any human actor as a subject and action verb in the clause.

Mental process

"The Stars understand my heart" (1994).

The inanimate participant is endowed with the human quality involved in the mental process in order to foreground a relationship between product and consumers that is not build on the physical needs but emotional understanding.

Behavioural processes

"Move about freely and quickly" (Mermaid remote control) (1996).

The clause of behavioural process includes the verb referring to an action which also reflects the mental state. This expression intends to inform people that with the 'Mermaid remote control' one can be free as if to go anywhere quickly while turning off and on and changing channels on TV.

Discussion

Apart from showing the types of processes in the three phases above, the results of the statistic analysis of the processes reveal (see Appendix B.4, Table B.4.7) that the most frequently used process during each of the three phases is the material process (76 percent, 75 percent and 55 percent). Relational processes are second in frequency, especially in the first and second phases, while in the second phase, relational and mental processes are additionally employed by advertisers. There are no behavioural and mental processes in the first phase, although these appear in the third phase. Although the number of processes of various types hardly offers a general picture of the current situation in advertising nevertheless, this analysis certainly reveals some characteristics of the processes used in the headlines of household appliance advertising in each of the three phases. This appears

from examining the verbs, the principal part of the process.

In the first phase, the higher frequency of material processes is primarily realized by the verbs "provide", and "offer" to convey giving products to consumers with the ideological meaning of generosity. Other verbs like "serve" and "bring" have the same function, conveying additionally a willingness to do things for consumers. These verbs imply the ideological values of politeness, loyalty and the spirit of selfless dedication, as if the consumers were in a higher position than the advertiser and producer. Occasionally, other verbs are used such as, "**choose**...product", asking consumers to do things themselves, emphasizing respect for the consumer's individual right and reflecting the ideological element of individuality. Also with the verb, such as "**won**...rewards", the advertiser intends to inform consumers about the superiority of their products.

In the second phase, the verbs of material processes are mainly "provide", "offer" "give" and "won", like those in the first phase. These verbs are associated with the similar ideological values as those in the first time period even though the frequency of the material processes is lower than the first phase and mental processes happened to be used in the second time period rather than in the first time period.

However, in the third phase, verbs like "provide" appear only once - significantly lower than the previous phases - while verbs like "introduce... products/technology" are high in frequency. Other verbs used in the material processes are "win", "love", "pay" and "install". While the verbs "provide" and "offer" may express the producer's willingness to supply consumers with the products needed and emphasize what the producer is able to give to people, "introduce" and "install" are used only in the third phase to emphasize the action of introducing the products for the first time to consumers; for example, "Mermaid company seriously introduces the

latest product" (1994); "To increase programs, install the Mermaid remote controller" (1995). These statements can be understood as efforts to persuade consumers by manufacturers which rely not only on politeness and willingness, but also on information for consumers about the products' new technology, unique functions and concrete advantages. Meanwhile, besides meeting the consumer's rational appeal for knowledge about the technology and functionality of products, they also provide an emotional appeal to feelings of "recognition" and "acceptance" (Jiang and Dai 2002: 66) through mental processes such as "The Stars understand my heart" (1994) and "Everyone loves the little talent" (1993). Also the producer embeds the behavioural processes with the values of freedom and efficiency by saying "Move around freely and quickly" (1996). This can be further explained as advertisers not simply giving consumers products which are material entities, but that also express a spiritual dimension especially in the second and third phases.

The change of transitivity (i.e. processes) in respect of these four types (material, relational, mental and behavior processes) reveals that in the earliest phase of the 1980s, due to the shortage of supply in commodities, advertising shows that producers can give to consumers in a material form by offering particular products, but later, after materials and commodities have become more abundant and even exceed public demand in the Chinese marketplace (Zhao 2010), advertisers begin to pursue the "emotional appeal" to the consumer (Jiang & Dai 2002). Thus, advertising not only tells consumers what to buy but also what the products can give them, both spiritually and socially (Zhao 2012). Along with this, a greater variety of ideological meanings than the first two periods is reflected in the processes in the third period.

In brief, from the introduction of processes we can see that the analysis

shows that the use of material and relational processes is intended to play a particular ideological function: that is, to deemphasize and exclude the human actors and reinforce the responsible image of personified enterprises and products as if they are playing an active role and concealing the real, profit-oriented activities by highlighting their apparent public welfare behaviour in offering service and goods for consumers. Like the other two processes, mental and behavioral processes are used to express knowledge of the products and describe their movement by highlighting the products' advantages, in order to make a positive impression on consumers.

In the above section, the experiential value of clauses was dealt with in association with the description and discussion of transitivity (e.g. material, relational mental and behavioral processes) defining what the participants are doing, being and thinking, and exploring ideological matters in these processes during the three time periods. Comparing the processes employed in the different time periods shows that there existed some differences in types of process which could point to ideological change.

The following section will focus on the relational values of functional grammatical clauses in the headlines and the relationship between participants in the commercial event. Here, the participants refer to the speaker or writer and audience or reader; speaker will be used as a cover term for both speaker and writer.

5.2.2 Grammar of relational values: clausal analysis

Relational values can be understood according to Halliday's functional perspective (2008: 36) as "interpersonal metafunction". There are two primary types of speech roles in a normal interactive event: giving and demanding to fulfill the exchange of either information or goods and services, as appears in the following table given by Halliday (2008: 69; see Table 5.8).

These two speech roles perform the four types of speech functions - Offer, Command, Statement and Question - which can be realized by the three sentence modes: declarative, grammatical question, and imperative (Fairclough 1994: 125).

Table 5.8 Giving or demanding, goods-&-services or information

Commodity exchanged Role in exchange	(a) goods & services	(b) information
(i) Giving	offer Would you like this teapot?	statement He's giving her the teapot.
(ii) Demanding	command Give me that teapot!	question What is he giving her?

(Halliday 2008: 68)

The two fundamental speech roles of giving and demanding reflect the roles of participants in practical interaction. "Even these elementary categories already involve a complex notion: 'giving' means inviting to receive, and 'demanding' means inviting to give" (Halliday 2008: 68). The speaker usually initiates the interaction in one of the three major sentence modes of declarative, grammatical question and imperative, taking the dominant position as giver. The listener's role changes according to the type of mode: for the declarative sentence, the listener is in the addressee's position as "a receiver" of information; for the question, in the role of "a provider of information"; and for the imperative, "a compliant actor" (Fairclough 1994: 126). The relationship between speaker (to give, to ask) and listener (to be given, to be asked) tends to show inequality in the interaction, one controlling the other.

5.2.2.1 Declarative modes of advertisements

The selected advertisements from the period 1981-1996, showed 39 headlines made up of complete clauses. All clauses are in the declarative mode which consists of Subject, Finite, Predicator, Complement, and Adjunct formed in the mood structure. Some of the sample declarative modes from the three time periods are illustrated in Tables 5.9,10,11 as follows (for more examples see Appendix B.5, Tables B.5.1,2,3):

Period 1: 1981-1985

Table 5.9 The sample declarative modes of 1981-1985

Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Using "Bat" household appliances	can	bring	great happiness	to your life.
The electric blanket		gives	you	the excellent heating product

Period 2: 1986-1990

Table 5.10 The sample declarative modes of 1986-1990

Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
(Ellipsis)		Enjoy	popularity	in China and the world
The rainbow mosquito killer		offers	you a sweet dream	

Period 3: 1991-1996

Table 5.11 The sample declarative modes of 1991-1996

Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
The computer factory of Qinghua University		introduces	refrigerating testing system...	
Tian Tong electrical appliances		change		with each passing day

Predicators in the clauses are realized by the verbal groups of “be”, “bring”, “offer”, “provide”, “belong to”, “be tested”, “present”, “serve”, “give”, “offer”, “wish”, “win”, “introduce”, “know” and so on. From the perspective of functional grammar and the “giving or demanding, goods-&-services or information system” (Halliday 2008: 69), these verbal groups are divided into two groups in terms of giving goods and services, giving information but without demanding it (see Table 5.12).

Table 5.12 Advertising verbs classified in Halliday’s system

Commodity exchanged Role in exchange	(a) goods & services	(b) information
Giving	bring, offer, provide, present, serve, give.	be, belong to, be tested, wish, win, introduce, know.

Discussion

The subjects of the clauses who make the utterance are in the role of giving goods and services and information, while the reader is in the position of

receiving. Therefore, in the advertising headlines the form of the structure is ideological, it reveals a stereotypical inequality of relationship between the participants at two levels. Superficially, consumers seemed to be given and served by the producers and advertisers. However, at the implicit ideological level, the speaker takes an active and dominant position for giving and offering goods and information to the audience who are normally in a passive position as recipients, unable to raise questions, and demand information and goods. As shown in the results of the clauses, throughout the entire period of 1981-1996, the clauses of the headlines are normally in the declarative mode. This suggests that the relational pattern between producers, readers and possible consumers has not changed. Producers and advertisers are likely to use the declarative mode to act as informants offering knowledge of the product and service to customers. Ultimately they are dominant and powerful in interaction, using certain advertising strategies to influence the addressees' mind and to persuade them to buy and enjoy the products and services advertised. As far as the ideological value is concerned, the relational pattern during the three time periods realized by the declarative mode, is constantly underpinned by notions of inequality, power and profit-making.

5.2.2.2 Clauses in the headlines with the pronoun "you"

While reading advertisements, readers are positioned by addressers in a one-to-one personal relationship pattern, and can become consumers if persuaded by the advertisement. Since the matter in practice is more complicated than this and addressees are not easily manipulated by addressers, advertisers follow a hegemonic model in which "the dominant groups also appear to exercise power through constituting alliances, integrating rather than merely dominating subordinate groups, winning their consent, achieving a precarious equilibrium" (Fairclough 2006: 94).

To persuade consumers, advertisers have to set up an intimate relationship with them despite being in the so-called dominant position in the interaction. They do this by using language which shows they are thinking about and interacting with consumers, creating the illusion of intimacy. The personal pronoun 'you' is often used in the advertisements enabling advertisers to bridge the socially distanced gap between manufacturers and consumers, and to connect products with consumers in order to establish a polite and harmonious image of communication.

As Halliday explains (2000: 189) that "you" is one of the personal pronouns which represents the world according to the speaker in the context of a speech exchange.

In clauses in headlines as well as other sentences in the body copy of the advertisements "you" is primarily used as an element in the adjunct or complement and takes on the role of recipient or client, e.g. "provides... to you", "give you", "serve you", "for you", "but you". The pronoun "you" as an addressee is usually of unknown identity to the speaker and the simulated recipient is also indefinite; yet some kind of relational value (solidarity and unity) between the addressor and addressee is set up.

Establishing a relationship between manufacturer and potential customers is just one crucial part of the strategy for persuading customers to buy the product - the ultimate target of advertising. But for consumers, the motive for making the decision to purchase is to feel that they will benefit. For this, copywriters may correlate products and service with the consumers through using the pronouns "you" and "your life". This can be seen below in the following sample clauses with the ideological themes of solidarity, intimacy and benefit articulated through the second person pronouns which are presented below in italics.

Period 1: 1981-1985

"The Snow Flake refrigerator makes *your* life more comfortable and happier" (1983).

"The new and ideal hair styling device brings beautiful hairstyle and elegant manner to *you*" (1985).

Period 2: 1986-1990

"The rainbow mosquito killer wishes *you* happy dreams" (1986).

"Trying to serve *you* best" (1987).

Period 3: 1991-1996

"Yuan Da Color TV remote control system is *your* best choice" (1995).

"The Peace color TV equipment can make *your* ordinary color TV into a remote controlled one" (1995).

As shown in the above clauses, besides the inclusive and honorific function (i.e. intimacy, politeness) between participants in the advertising discourse, the second person pronoun is also seen as representation of "the social actor, the beneficiary" (Fairclough 2008: 145, 147) of manufacturers' products and service.

Discussion

Furthermore, "you" is usually understood as one of the personal pronouns that address directly the second person in an interactional event, although in the headline clauses the personal pronoun "you" is often imprecise and indefinite. However, "you" shall be identified interpersonally in the

advertising interaction and it conveys the belief that the speaker (advertiser or producer) intends to communicate more than the literal meaning. With the relational value, the speech's implicature conveys several meanings in terms of multi-status relationship. In the pragmatic term, "you" can be understood as a potential consumer from the intention of the salesman, a beneficiary (either in the material process or other processes) to be served and provided with the products, a private listener in terms of the relational value of inclusion, and the here-and-now participant in discourse of face-to-face conversation. All this suggests the hegemonic function of the producer's (manufacturer's, advertiser's) strategy by means of implying benefit, solidarity and intimacy but disguising the real commercial purpose.

5.2.2.3 Nouns of relational value in the third period

As Fairclough suggests (1994: 127) "pronouns in English do have relational values of different sorts". In the first and second phases from 1981 to 1990, the personal pronouns "you" (the honorific and ordinary styles) are frequently used in Chinese advertisements. For the same reason that Fairclough gives, the pronouns "you" ("your") in Chinese advertising also play a role in maintaining the relationship between producers, audience and consumers. But it is notable that in the third phase, 1991-1996, the pronouns in the headlines occur less frequently. Of 39 headlines, there are only two with the pronoun "your" (see the two clauses in **Period 3: 1991-1996** in the above section). This is a much lower proportion than the previous phases. That is, most words representing the animate participants of clauses are not personal pronouns of "you" ("your"), but nouns as animate participants. Some of the examples in Period 3 (1991-1996) are illustrated below by me in italics:

"*The consumers* are the most satisfied with the production of household appliances produced with Hua Li mould" (1991). (my italics, and the

italics in the following section are mine.)

"Super value enjoyment belongs to *elites*"(1992).

"Shenyang Yi Li Electric Company gives its regards to *all consumers*"
(1994).

As the above clauses show, the italicized nouns stand for possible consumers. In the clause they mainly represent the participants known as beneficiaries. They are in fact the socially identified participants (e.g. "all consumers", "elites") which are more inclusive and specific than the personal pronouns, "you", "he", "she", and "they", indicate.

Discussion

In the previous two phases (1981-1985, 1986-1990), personal pronouns are used more often in headlines than they are in the third phase in order to reinforce solidarity and union between producers and possible consumers. Advertisers used intimate and emotional strategies to persuade consumers to buy the commodities. But in the third phase this kind of intimacy and emotional value is not often constructed in the advertising headlines. Those components that appear frequently in the headlines of the third phase are possible consumers who stand to benefit. This suggests that the intimate relationship of the third phase is not shown in the headlines and that the advertiser's attention is being extended to the general public. Even so, in the headlines, the relationship is explicit between products and general consumers rather than through a one-to-one conversation.

That personal pronouns are used less in the advertising headlines of the 1990s might confirm what He Xinxiang (2003: 55) claims, that using an emotional and human relational strategy results in a blurring of the message and an increase in imagery. This is not enough to get good results, especially

from more rational customers, because emotion and intimate relationships may offer less information about the products. The Chinese people have witnessed and survived the competitive market and economic reform of China since 1987. When faced with advertising they are no longer passive receivers, but "active information processors" (Ma 2008: 135). Consumers in the 1990s also participated in the evaluation of products before deciding to buy them, requiring producers and advertisers to become more sophisticated and tactful. While realizing that it is necessary to set up intimate and good relations with consumers, they agree that this is not the only effective strategy to win public faith.

While advertisers in the first two phases draw on the relational strategy in the headlines of making a good impression on consumers of intimacy, those of the third phase wish to offer more factual information about enterprises and products to enhance consumer's awareness or reinforce the positive images already been established in the previous market competition. This is in line with Aren's and Schaefer's assertion (2007: 477) that to "identify corporate names and products are valuable assets". And it can also gain the faith of consumers.

Summary

This section conducted an analysis of the grammatical features of relational values. The notion of relational values was introduced, the modes of clauses in the headlines were displayed and discussed, personal pronouns were examined at the clausal level. The analysis of the particular modes of commercial clauses revealed that the audience and possible consumers of the advertisements are treated as beneficiaries by the advertisers.

In the next section, I will introduce the expressive values of grammatical features and discuss them in relation to ideological matters.

5.2.3 Grammar of expressive values: predicates (adjectives) and modality

Analysis of the expressive value of grammar first studies the expressive value of Chinese clauses in which adjectives follow the noun functioning as predicates; then it addresses another important feature of the clause, modality. Although adjectives were analyzed in the previous section, they were treated as modifiers in the domain of the nominal group. In this section adjectives are dealt with at the clausal level as predicates.

5.2.3.1 Expressive values of predicates

Adjectives as predicates

According to Quirk and Greenbaum (1973: 10), traditionally, the primary structure of the English clause with adjectives is "subject + predicate", consisting of a noun (subject), a verb (verb), and an adjective (complement) which is also identified as the predicate: e.g. "His brother grew happier". In the functional view, the structure of the clause is described as the relational process (see Table 5.13).

Table 5.13 Structures of the English predicate sentence and the relational process

Traditional Gr.	Subject (noun)	Predicate (verb + complement)	
Functional Gr.	Carrier	Relational process	Attribute
	His brother	grew	happier.

Compared with the English clause which contains the link verb and adjective as predicate, the structure of the Chinese clause with the adjective has no link verb as the predicate with a different picture (see Table 5.14).

Table 5.14 Structures of the Chinese and English predicate sentences

Chinese Gr.	Subject		Predicate (complement)
	His brother		happier.
Traditional Eng. Gr.	Subject	Predicate (verb)	complement
	His brother	is	Happier.

As shown in the table the structure of the Chinese clause contains no verb, and the predicative component is realized by the adjective; but the location of the adjective within a clause also provides the cue for function and meaning. As Liu, Pan and Guclaim (2010: 194) explain, in the Chinese language clause “adjectives have many things in common with verbs, therefore, they are taken as a kind of verb, called static verbs. Adjectives can be used as predicates”. In Chinese structural form, this kind of clause does not have a static verb like “be” or other verbs like “become” “remain”, “appear”, “seem” and so on. The structure is formed in the pattern of subject + adjective: “This cloth *short*”, “Her face *red*” (Liu, Pan and Gu 2010:196) (my italics).

Adjectives as attributes

Although the Chinese clause is different from the English one in terms of structure and grammar labeling for the adjective, from the functional point of view this form of structure can be called the relational process. In Functional Grammar, adjectives used in a clause of relational process function as attributes: “today’s weather is going to be warm and sunny” (Halliday 2008: 120). This kind of clause with verbs in English can be thought of as both complete and standard. Otherwise, it is marked or

incomplete. But in the Chinese structure , as shown in the table above, “Her face red”, which does not contain a link verb or “copular verb” (Bloor 2003: 121) also reveals the evaluative function, with the adjective as an attribute, to show the quality and condition of the products (see Table 5.15).

Table 5.15 Chinese and English clauses in the relational process

	Carrier	Relational process	Attribute
English	Today’s weather	is going to be	warm and sunny
Chinese	Her face		red

Chinese adjectives used as predicates following the noun in clauses are one of the main features in the advertising from 1981-1996.

Predicates (adjectives) and their ideological meanings

The study of an adjective functioning as the predicate explains that the Chinese clause has no link verb between noun and adjective; however, it can also function as a relational process to fulfill the evaluative function. While predicates (adjectives) convey the products’ merits and good features they may inevitably reflect ideological values and sets of ideas. Then, “Advertisements get their audience to draw upon ideological elements in their MR (members’ resources) in order to establish an ‘image’ for the product being advertised” (Fairclough 1994: 203). However, some of the ideological meanings are explicit while some are implicit. In the foregoing analysis, the explicit meanings appear to be more concrete as “common sense” while the implicit ones are more abstract and general. Therefore, being treated differently at different levels, according to Vestergaard and Schroder’s classification (1985), the more abstract ideological values can be deeper and implicit in the advertising and can be further categorized in

concrete sub-ideologies or the sub-themes; for instance, “operation *easy*”: the theme is advantage and the sub-theme is convenience; “price *low*” (my italics): the theme is economy and the sub-theme is cheapness (for the summary of themes and sub-themes see Table 5.16). This table below presents the results concerning ideologies obtained from the data analysis on the predicates (adjectives) of 1981-1996.

Table 5.16 The themes of the predicates of the three phases

Code number	Theme (ideological)	Sub-theme
1	Advance	Technology, science, standardization
2	Advantage	Efficiency, speed, convenience, easiness
3	Aestheticism	Beauty ,colour ,elegance, attraction, exquisiteness
4	Prestige	Globalism, history, fame, truth
5	Economy	Cheapness, energy-saving, low investment
6	Fashion	New, update, popular
7	Function	Multi-function
8	Quality	Reliability, safety, durability, efficiency
9	Scale	Quantity, weight, largeness, mini-type
10	Uniqueness	Specialty, plenty
11	Variety	Difference, plenty
12	Perfection	Excellence, superiority
13	Nature	Life-like
14	Rationality	Reasonable
15	Harmony	Family

As Table 5.13 shows, the total number of the clauses in the predicates during the three phases (1981-1996) is 123 (78, 8, 37). For the analysis 15 ideological themes were set up. These represent the meanings of a number of sub-themes obtained from the clauses of the relational process.

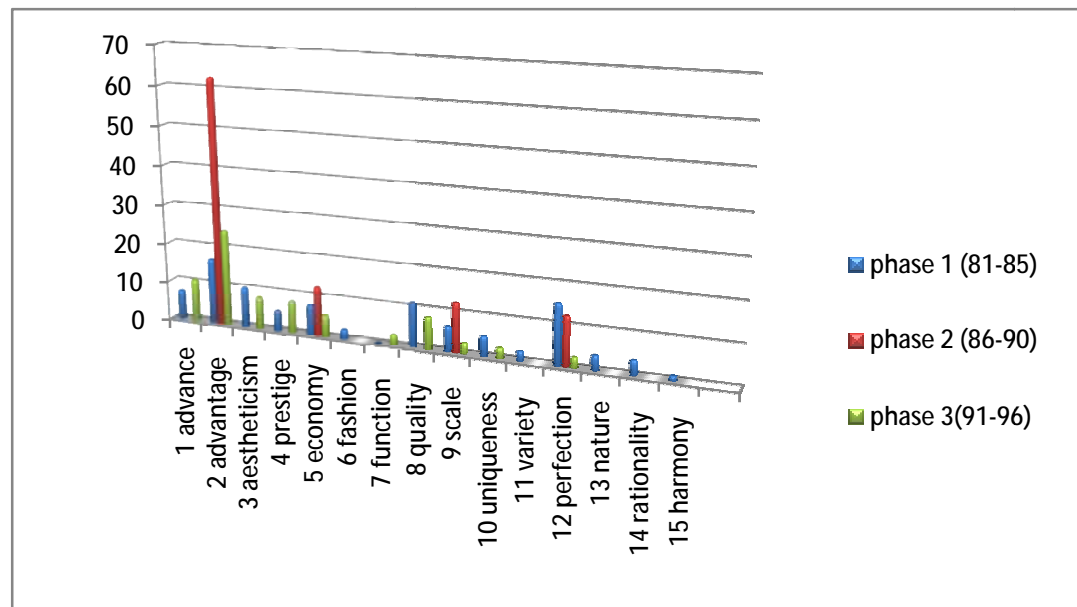


Figure 5.2 Frequency of ideological themes of 1981-1996

First, shown in Figure 5.2, each advertising clausal structure (subject + predicate) contains adjectives reflecting particular themes of ideological value for publicizing the merits and positive characteristics of the products during the three phases. Those which have a high frequency require more attention. They are illustrated below.

In each period the predicates realized by adjectives show the producers of the advertisements referring to the themes of ideological meanings (see the adjectives italicized for the predicates):

Period 1. 1981-1985

Advance

Examples of predicates are in italics (all italics in following are mine). Technology *advanced*. Structure *advanced*. Technology *exquisite*.

Advantage

The predicates in my italics show the merits of the products in their functions. Operation *easy*. Performance *good*. Use *safe*.

Aestheticism

Style *elegant*. Shape *small and exquisite*. Structure *reasonable, beautiful* and *elegant*. Appearance *attractive*.

Economy

For economy the examples refer to *less* consumption and *lower* price. Operation *easy, water-saving, power-saving*. Power consumption *low*. Price *low*.

Perfection

Speed *fast*. Pressure-resistance *high*.

Quality

Quality was also one of the significant themes in the advertisements. Material *well-selected*. Material *reasonably-selected*. Quality *good, durable*. Quality *reliable*. Application *safe and reliable*.

Scale

Size *small*. Output *loud* and *clear*.

Period 2. 1986-1990

Advantage

The merits of products seen as the advantage are like these.
Pressure-resistance *high*. Warming *fast*.

Economy

The example is this: Investment *less*.

Perfection

Water-proof *strong*.

Scale

Freezer *big*.

Period 3. 1991-1996

Advance

The examples are like these. Design *advanced*. Technology *sophisticated*.

Advantage

The merits emphasized are not quite the same as the first time period; for example: Use *convenient*. Installation *easy*.

Aestheticism

Sound *beautiful*.

Economy

The price is not low but matches the quality of the product, really *good price*.

Perfection

Examples are, Remote control *the first rate*. Door-to-door maintenance; *the most practical*.

Quality

By using the *best* and *outstanding*. Quality *the best*. Quality *outstanding*.

Scale

Size *small*. Scale *the largest*.

Discussion

First of all, the themes listed above are the main ones that were used at a higher frequency by the advertisers in each of the time periods. This confirms that these themes received greater emphasis than others in each time period. Of all these, the most highly emphasized theme, appearing with the highest frequency in each period, is "advantage". This suggests that producers throughout the three periods were concerned to persuade consumers of the advantage of their products, including the sub-themes of "efficiency", "speed", "convenience", "easiness". Three other themes – "economy", "scale", and "perfection" – were used in each time period. These four themes can therefore be claimed as the most favoured by advertisers, especially in the second period (see Figure 5.2).

Secondly, the themes of "advantage", "economy", and "scale" show a trend of changing from lower to higher frequencies, while others, namely "perfection", moved from higher to lower in advertising discourses during the entire period of 1981-1996. This proves that the ideological themes embedded in the predicates are essential for the advertisements, as their

frequencies are dynamic in the three phases.

Thirdly, another trend of the themes is revealed in Figure 5.2. Themes such as "aestheticism", "prestige", "fashion", "quality", "uniqueness" occurring only in the first and third periods are missing in the second phase. Meanwhile, items of "nature", "rationality" and "harmony" occur only in the first phase. The general picture indicates that in the first phase there is greater variety of ideological themes, in the second phase there is less, while in the third phase the range appears to increase.

According to the results shown in the above figures, each phase shares in common the four themes of "advantage", "economy", "scale" and "perfection", which can be related to the specific characteristics of the products. Following the classification of the themes of advertising expressions, all four themes can be categorized as "instrumental rationality (guarantee of the product quality, content of science and technology, unique effects, formation of elements)" (Chen 2011: 123). This suggests that the themes that include instrumental rationality are the most fundamental ideological values employed in advertising discourse even at different periods of time. Apart from these four themes, others also show the value of "instrumental rationality" in the second phase, such as "advance" and "quality". Other themes, namely "aestheticism", "fashion" and "uniqueness" can be thought of as meaning "pursuit for novelty, innovation and constant progress" (Chen 2011). These groups appear only in the first and third phases but not in the second. It may be assumed that the data is not sufficient enough in quantity to include other themes like those in the first and third phases which need more investigation. However, the theme of "function" can be found in the section of vocabulary analysis at 5.5 percent and the concept of "prestige" is the highest in frequency at 50 percent. Therefore, the reasons for the change in frequency can be related to the

structure of the vocabulary and clause, not just to social factors. That is, some themes are likely to emerge in the nominal group, but not in the predicate of the clause and conversely some in the predicate of the clause, but not in the nominal group. This feature also occurs with the theme of "advantage" that ranks the highest in frequency in the predicates of the clause in the second phase, but in the nominal group is missing in the second phase. And the theme of "prestige" occurring in the nominal group of the second phase cannot be found in the predicates of the clause in the second phase.

5.2.3.2 Expressive values of modality

As a grammatical feature, "Modality refers to the area of meaning that lies between yes and no – the intermediate ground between positive and negative polarity" (Halliday 2008: 356). Modality is a general notion of degrees of indeterminacy between polarity. Thompson (2000: 57) says that modality can be subdivided into sub-modalities in terms of probability (how likely it is to be true) or usuality (how frequently it is true); in terms of obligation the scale includes: permissible, advisable, obligatory; in terms of willingness or inclination the scale includes: ability, willingness, determination.

Modality is not only a grammatical feature, but it is also ideological, because it marks relational as well as expressive values. In using modality, speakers can express their "attitude towards, or opinion about the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence. It also extends to their attitude towards the situation or event described by a sentence" (Simpson 1993: 47). In discourse analysis, modality may help us evaluate the degree of commitment, determination, and certainty in a speaker's views and attitudes towards the world. Modality is often realized by a variety of language properties such as modal auxiliaries (e.g. "can", "must"), adverbs

("always", "probably"), adjectives ("possible", "better"), sentences (e.g. "It is likely that ..." "I think that ...") and verb phrases that "can also carry information about mood (or modality)" (Thornborrow and Wareing 2000: 66). "Speakers also have the option of expressing the basic proposition in its 'raw' form; or in other words, as a categorical assertion: You are right" (Simpson 1993: 49). This is a remarkable feature of modality, for "categorical assertions express the strongest possible degree of speaker commitment" (Lyons 1977: 763 cited by Simpson 1993). The "raw" form of verbs in the categorical assertion is actually stronger in the modal function than the modal words mentioned above. As Fowler (1991: 86) points out that a straightforward truth claim does not, in fact, need any explicit modal verb; this is not to say that there is no modality, but that in the normal case, it does not need to be expressed.

Modality in headline clauses

It was expected that in advertising discourse, particularly in the headline, modality could be found. However the survey of clauses in advertising headlines reveals that there is only one modal auxiliary in the advertising headlines of the three phases (see Appendix B.6, Table B.6). What the headlines have in common are verbal groups of common verbs rather than the modal word groups. The common verbs are "offer", "wish", "won", "enjoy" and "be". These verbal groups are in the simple past and present tense. They are illustrated as follows (all italics in following are mine):

Time period 1. 1981-85

Examples such as: *can* (a modal auxiliary), *provide*, *test*, *make*, *have*, *receive*, *present*, *bring*, *serve*, *try* (action verbs) and *be* (a link verb)

Time period 2. 1986-90

Examples such as: *offer, make, wish, win, enjoy* (action verbs).

Time period 3. 1991-96

Examples such as: *satisfy, introduce, belong to, know, provide, provide, change, have, move* (action verbs), *be* (a link verb).

Discussion

Thus, it can be claimed that on almost all occasions, modality in the advertising headlines of household appliances from 1981 to 1996 is realized by action verbs and link verbs. The unique modal auxiliary verb "can" is seen as a typical example of the modal form for modality: "Using Bat household appliances can bring great happiness to your life" (1981).

The modality of the clause is conveyed by the modal auxiliary "can". As Leech (1966: 125) claims, "can" has the meaning of possibility when the subject is a product or brand name which is inanimate. In addition to possibility "can" also means a kind of ability to do things. That is, with the modal verb "can", advertisers tell consumers about the possibilities and potential of a product and a brand name which offer to meet their needs. So the modal verb "can" in the above sample clause expresses the possibility of offering "great happiness of life" for consumers through products with the brand name "Bat". However, according to Halliday's value scales of modality, "can" ranks as a low value of modality and conveys weak possibility, even though the modifier in the nominal group of "great happiness of life" is positive. However, the low valued modal auxiliary "can" undermines the certainty of the assertion. This might explain why advertising headlines rarely adopt modal auxiliaries.

Although the modal auxiliary verb is rarely used in headlines, it is worth repeating Fowler's assertion (1991) that this is not to say that there is no

modality. When action verbs as the material process and link verbs as the relational process are used without modal auxiliaries, they are located at the positive polar point of modality rather than between two extremes. This represents the addressor's top degree of attitudinal certainty about the truth and fact without requiring any intermediate modality. For example, two of the headlines are shown as follows (all italics in following are mine):

1. "The Flying Deer fan *received* the title of 'The High-quality' Product of Guangzhou Province in 1982." (a fan advertisement of 1983)
2. "Super value enjoyment *belongs to* elites (what) people see and love *is* the little talent". (an advertisement for an electric computer game of 1993)

Quirk and Greenbaum (1978) maintain that in the "raw forms", the action verbs and link verbs used in the headlines aim to show the producer's commitment to the truth. This ideological interest is in the authenticity or claims to knowledge, which are evidenced by modality forms, as well as their polarity (Fairclough 1994: 129). Similar to the usual form of verbs in news reports, verbs in the present tense form aim to make readers believe that what is said in advertising is true and factual rather than possible and uncertain. This kind of expressive modality helps to show the merits of products and develop a positive image with the highest degree of certainty. With this embedded ideological value, a stronger persuasive force may be formed.

The ideological value is not limited to the certainty and authenticity of the claims. Another significant point for expressive modality here is the simple present tense (e.g. "belongs to"), which means timeless and habitual action. As Leech states (1966), "The unrestrictive present, the most important use

of this verb form, refers to a time period which includes the present moment, and also stretches indefinitely into the past and future, unless limitation is implied by other forms". Most verbs used in non-modal present tense forms in advertising go beyond the limiting boundaries of time. With the verbal group like "received the title of the High-quality Product" (1983), the verb in the past tense implies that this event happened at a certain point in time. The sentence with the action verb conveys the message that the product, acknowledged in its title to be of high quality, historically sounds reliable and perfect. It is generally believed by Chinese consumers that facts speak louder than words. Facts and truths are represented by common action verbs in advertising, and applying the simple present tense and the past tense without intermediate modalities may help express the truth and objectivity of fact explicitly at the highest degree of objectivity and certainty. Therefore it might be easy to influence the receiver's interpretation of the advertising. From this, we can see that "the choice of these language elements reflects ideological interests" (Fairclough 1994). The advertiser's expression, appearing as a commitment to absolute certainty, truth and fact, may disguise the complexity of reality and social practice. Such an expression embeds the discourse with some degrees of extremism.

Modality is not merely concerned with the expression of interpersonal relations, it also helps people show their attitudes and opinions towards the products advertised. The analysis of the modality of headlines in the three time periods shows its appearance in linguistic forms that expose the positive expressive value imposed by admen. In this sense, the expressive values of modality are ideological. The constant use of common verbs in the headlines throughout the three time periods indicates that telling the facts and truth with absolute certainty is the ideological matter that was often employed by advertisers at different time periods.

Summary

In this part two pieces of work have been carried out. One is concerned with the analysis of the typical Chinese clausal structure that consists of two elements, a subject (noun) and predicate (adjective), but it is interesting to see that there is no verbal group in the Chinese clause. However, it is not difficult to figure the meaning out when we identify the clause according to the framework of the simple clausal structure consisting of subject and predicate. The other research is to discuss modality in the clause. The examination of features of expressive values in the clause showed that both grammatical features were embedded with ideological contents. These include the ideological work of the thematic structure of the clause and the ideological meanings displayed by the 15 concepts (themes) realized by the adjectives in the location of predicates. In addition to the thematic structure, modality also has expressive values which help express one's attitudes and opinions on the merits of products. Some of the modal verbs were used to show the possibility of the event, such as "can" which sounds modest and at a lower degree of certainty. Without modal verbs modality aims to show the complete certainty of truth and facts in ways that are persuasive in advertisements. The major concern of the next section is the discussion of the textual structure.

5.3 Intertextuality in Advertising Discourse

One of the primary purposes in analyzing a text is to discover its ideological meaning. In the previous sections the analytical work was conducted at the level of vocabulary and sentences following a linear process. Further to a linear analysis, this section is concerned with interpreting the relations of organic segments in the text, seen as the intertext, i.e. that diverse, prior texts can co-exist within a text encouraging/requiring the reader to draw on his/her knowledge of these earlier texts to fill out the meaning.

Dyer claims:

Advertising also borrows the styles and idioms of other types of discourse, such as scientific or legal language. [...] Both TV commercials and magazine display ads sometimes use the format of an official form, a medical record card or a medical interview.

(1993:46)

Among the sample advertising discourses are intertextual features represented by a variety of linguistic elements which might be borrowed from other genres (Richards 2003) or discourse types (Cook 1990). Therefore this section will begin with a brief introduction to the notion of intertextuality in advertisements, followed by an exploration of the function of the ideological value of intertextuality in advertisements.

Intertextuality

The term intertextuality is used of any particular text or type of text in which "there is a set of other texts and a set of voices which are potentially relevant, and potentially incorporated into the text" (Fairclough 2007: 47). The text, that is, can be interpreted as a system consisting of different types of interrelated text, such as conversation, narrative, direct and indirect speeches. As Gee says (2005: 21) they are a "sort of cross-reference to another text". Further, Bloom states: "A single text has only part of a meaning; it is itself a synecdoche for a larger whole including other texts. A text is a relational event, and not a substance to be analyzed" (1975b: 106 cited by Allen 2011: 133). For Bloom, any text is intertextual, and its whole meaning can only be understood through intertextuality. Barthes also points out:

We know now that a text is not a line of words releasing a single

"theological" meaning (the "message" of the Author-God) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writing, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centers of culture ... the writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior, never original. His only power is to mix writings, to counter the ones with the others in such a way as never to rest on any one of them.

(1977a: 146-47 cited by Allen 2011: 13)

Although some of Barthes's words in his argument sound rather absolute and extreme, such as "only power", "never original", the argument that as an author's product, the finished text cannot be taken as "originated from the author's own unique consciousness but from the place within linguistic – cultural systems" (Allen 2011: 14) is convincing. It confirms that an author's work does not come entirely from his or her creativity, because a textual and discursive construction cannot be totally created by a single person. The author's writing in large part is an active combination of knowledge, structures and ideas from previous texts. The textual components are combination of other textual elements.

In the respect of intertextual formation, Cook (2001: 193) defines two types: intra-generic intertextuality and inter-generic intertextuality. The first contains the voice of other examples of the same genre (in this case advertisements) while the latter contains the voices of different genres (other types of texts, e.g. a story, conversation). Cook's definition of intertextuality and textual types is built on a structural perspective, while Fairclough's (2006) account of the same phenomenon includes three patterns: sequential intertextuality, embedded intertextuality and emerged intertextuality. This seems to focus on the description of the structure of intertextuality, but with reference to CDA, Fairclough also points out:

the concept of intertextuality points to the productivity of texts, to how texts can transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones. But this productivity is not in practice available to people as a limitless space for textual innovation and play: it is socially limited and constrained, and conditional upon relations of power.

(2006: 102)

Fairclough in his explanation of intertextuality not only offers us the generation of texts, but also stresses the social potential in text transformation. Intertextuality requires viewing discourses and texts from historical and social perspectives which are in contrast to other familiar analysis methods of textual formation, because traditional language studies "would regard a text as analyzable without reference to other texts, in abstraction from its historical context" (Fairclough 1994: 155). Along with intertextuality as a term Fairclough suggests the term "interdiscursivity" (2006: 124), as a reminder of the social elements in discourse analysis: these include situations, functions, participants, ideological values. In the following analysis, "intertextuality" is preferred, but this concept goes beyond pure linguistic studies. The above-mentioned elements will be taken into consideration for classifying discourse types and analyzing the texts.

Thus, this section aims not simply to look for traces of certain text types or genres, but also to consider some discourse conventions and elements of advertising discourse including "context, situation, intertext, participants, function" (Cook 2001: 4) from which social and ideological notions are likely to be represented.

Based on the preceding explanation, I argue that intertextuality can be understood as an approach to analyzing a text through a synthesis of genres

and functions. While functioning to integrate the segments of genres into a new text, it also makes apparent ideological process and elements which may manipulate the text's form and meaning. Goddard's explanation that "Intertextuality can operate at many different levels of language, from phonological and lexical references in titles and slogans to visual aspects such as layouts and images" (2002: 126) suggests there is no strict boundary between levels in making an intertextual analysis. Vocabulary, clauses, textual forms and visual components can be considered, as well as rhetorical devices and styles.

This section will observe mainly linguistic data and information in the body copy texts, in order to discern intertextual traces in the sample text (body copy) which is generally larger than other parts of the advertisements.

Three modes of intertextuality

This kind of text, the body copy of the advertisement, is considered to be a hybrid, consisting of different types of texts, coexisting in the hyper-text and what are known as subtexts; in order to distinguish the former (the hyper-text) from the divided texts (subtexts), it (the hyper-text) embodies various types of textural structures. In order to identify the structural patterns of intertextuality in the advertisements of the three phases and their ideological matters, I surveyed the text types of the advertisements, and put them in order. This process is based on Fairclough's "modes of intertextual relations" (2006: 118). Their intertextual organization can be classified into three patterns:

Sequential intertextuality: where different texts or discourse types alternate within a text;

Embedded intertextuality: where one text or discourse type is clearly

contained within the matrix of another;

Mixed intertextuality: where texts or discourse types are merged in a more complex and less easily separable way.

On the surface the intertextual features of the sample advertisements will be identified through reference to the three modes; for although they are organized differently in terms of the superficial mode, they also have in common a discourse of information-and-publicity (or “telling and selling”) (Fairclough 2006: 115) at the functional level. This pattern existing within and underlining an advertising intertext can be understood as the combination and mixing of two sub-discourses, with telling for delivery of information about products and enterprises and a more factual linguistic style, and selling to advertise them with a more evaluative and persuasive one. In the ideological perspective the functional pattern of telling-and-selling is endowed with the ideological values of “professionalism”, “responsibility” and “consumerism” (Fairclough 1994).

The analysis is, firstly, to reveal the features of the intertexts in the examples of advertising discourses selected from the three phases according to the three modes of intertextuality; secondly, to discern the functional pattern of discourse, “telling-and-selling”. Criteria for further identification of the intertextual modes of the remaining sample advertisements will thereby be established. The features of the intertexts are illustrated with the following examples. Since the body text (or the body copy) is one of the main properties of the advertisement, my major focus is on the (main) body texts of the advertisements.

Example 1 Sequential intertextuality

This advertisement (1981) aims to promote the sale of a washing machine.

Under the headline of the name and type of product, two sets of labels are shown in the body copy of the advertising discourse. The advertisement can be divided into two text types with respect to linguistic forms, functions and contents.

Body text:

"Little Duck Washing Machine"

The body text is made up of three parts: sections of text on the left, on the right, and the text at the close.

The body text on the left:

Quantity of washing clothes: 1.5kg of dry clothes, power consumption: 0.045 kwh for a clean wash, washing time: 0-15minutes/once, weight of machine: 23 kg, occupied area: 0.15m².

The body text on the right:

performance reliable	safe, durable
closure baking varnish	enamel inner barrel
with four wheels underneath	convenient to move
cleanliness high	power-saving, water-saving

The body text on the left resembles the product's label which consists of product indicators giving factual information about performance features. As shown in the above text, figures and nominal groups without being in clauses and without being attached to verbs convey accurate information that play the role of reference as if required by legislation to be true and not

offering extra information in a specific genre. This type of text reflects “the values of professionalism, a high sense of responsibility” (Fairclough 1994: 210), which are the ideological attributes of an engineer and a technician; the voice is controlling and impersonal (Thornborrow and Wareing 2000: 151), and the items and specifications are unchanging. The copywriter seems to have a legal conscience in providing true and factual information to the public. The language consists mainly of nominal groups of experiential values and no verbs which are likely to show processes of emotion and actions associated with personal values. Therefore, the text can be classified as a product label in a referential function, and as reliable and trustworthy, informing the public about what technical indicators and attributes the product has, rather than how valuable or excellent it is.

The body text on the right publicizes the product’s superiority and consists of nominal groups and adverbial groups. While the nouns (heads) in the nominal groups provide factual information about its performance features, such as quality, design, and appearance, the adjectives (modifiers) and subjects and predicates offer expressive values to evaluate positively the product; these persuasive strategies emphasizing the superiority of these elements are customer oriented.

The Chinese text is poetic in its form and rhyme, and each line is shortened into four characters with no verb. In terms of Chinese grammar they are clauses of subject (noun) and predicate (adjective). These lines are in two vertically parallel stanzas, and the end rhymes are explicitly contained, and pronounced: e.g. *qiao*, *kao*, *gao* meaning ingenious, reliable, high; *yong*, *tong*, *bian*, *dian* meaning durable, convenient, electric power. The language of poetry is creatively used to express the thoughts, imagination, experiences, and emotions of human beings, and therefore, the language of advertising that imitates this poetry seems to have violated the conventions

and rules of grammar and patterns of normal language. Leech claims:

In fact linguistic violations have more important effects on that entertainment in advertising. They can arrest the consumer's attention, and help to imprint the message on his memory. They can also act more subtly, in establishing symbolic connections between the product and the ideals and emotive urges of the consumer. In this last respect, copywriting perhaps comes closest to "creative writing" in a literary sense.

(1965: 176)

Therefore, poetic style in advertising is used to entertain the audience and build a positive image of products for advertising. As the ideological function to persuade consumers for their consumption embodies creativity and novelty in advertising products, the major pattern of intertextuality of this body copy can be reconciled with that suggested by Fairclough (2006: 117) that is, "information-and-publicity" or "telling-and-selling". This advertisement is a typical hybrid text in a mode of the sequential textuality with different types of texts alternating in one, but based on the principle of "telling-and-selling".

Example 2 The embedded intertextuality

Body text:

The body text in the advertisement of fans (1987) titled "The perfect quality product of the Light Industrial Ministry" consists of the main body of the advertisement, but with a slogan attached to it.

"Wuxi Chrysanthemum Electric Fan Factory is a government-appointed unit, its main enterprise - Wuxi Electric Fan Factory was once highly evaluated by

Premier Zhao Zi-yang for its low cost investment, high production, fast speed, high efficiency.”

“Chrysanthemum Electric Fans won the high quality product certificates issued by the Light Industrial Ministry and Jiangsu Province, and were sent to the Soviet Union, Poland and Pan-pacific Region for large-scale world fairs.”

“The Chrysanthemum Electric Fans were hailed as the most favorite products by the consumers in the polls of the national ten big department stores.”

Slogan

“Hundreds of schools (fan producers) compete for reputation. Only the Chrysanthemum (Electric Fan) blooms”.

The body copy adopts the essential elements of two genres: a narrative genre, “character, events and settings” (Michael J. Toolan 2001: 15), as well as a news report to describe and publicize the happenings concerning the products and their producer, as if “The narrative discourse provides a ‘window on reality’” (Thornborrow and Wareing 2000: 150). Regarding the character and event, the narrative report begins with the claim to a corporate identity, “appointed by the Light Industrial Ministry”, intending to inform the public it is not an ordinary enterprise and it is operating in the system of highly-ranked Chinese authority. In addition, it gives the background to the enterprise: “once was highly evaluated by Premier Zhao Zi-yang” (character, event). The remaining two paragraphs contain examples of its achievements: this enterprise joined the world fair (event, setting), and received good ratings from consumers in the polls in China (event, setting). As for the news report genre, their clauses are complete

and longer than the normal advertising clauses (shown in Sample 1). The style of the words is formally demonstrated in nominal groups, and some verbs are in the passive voice. The collocation of expressions forms a mixed intertextuality, where texts or discourse types are merged in a more complex and less easily separable way. Though the "telling-and-selling" principle is embodied in intertextuality, the two parts do not neatly alternate. Telling and selling are mixed with each other.

Intertextual elements in the advertisement do not just tell the story about historical events and the producer nor simply show realism as the literary work for the reader's appreciation; the messages aim to offer real facts which seem powerful with authoritative approval and governmental concern from the Premier of China to convince people of reliability, quality and advantages of their products and to increase public faith in the enterprise. Both narrative discourse and news report genre are prestige oriented.

The slogan is written in the poetic pattern which consists of two clauses in parallel and each clause contains six Chinese words, forming a stanza. Moreover, in terms of structure and vocabulary, the first clause displays a textual reference to famous statements in the "Two Hundreds Policy" that Mao Zedong claimed at the enlarged conference of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party on April 28, 1956 (<http://cpc.people.com.cn> July 31, 2012). The Policy insists on freedom in thinking, expression, discussion, criticism and suggests, "letting a hundred flowers bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend" (<http://eprints.soton.ac.uk> July 31, 2012). It was propagandized in newspapers for several decades (1950s-1980s), so the meaning of the slogan became familiar to the Chinese people. The text's style may also appear romantic and ironic, for the words borrowed from the "Policy" belong to the political domain while the advertisement's expression is used metaphorically for the fan factories and products. The slogan was

used for a commercial purpose, to sell products, rather than to liberate people's political minds. The two statements differ completely in their aims. The variation in the advertising language foregrounds the statement, making it seem more impressive than ordinary forms of language. This kind of intertextuality reveals that in the market-place things can be commoditized including the structure and meaning of political language. Its persuasive style means that the slogan tends more towards selling than telling.

Example 3 The mixed intertextuality

This sample advertisement is one (1996) from the third phase with the headline of Sansen Channel Converter.

Body text:

"Won the Golden Award at the National Fair of Perfect Achievements for Protecting the Consumer Rights"

- I The shape designed for the luxurious machine, easy operation
- I Microcomputer multifunction remote infrared control, remote control of switching on or off TV set of alternating current
- I Digital frequency synthesis regulator
- I Two modes of timer (1-99 minutes) and 64 channel display
- I Channel selection and storage for personal interest
- I Range of working power supply and voltage (AC170-250V50Hz)
- I Channel selection and micro regulation of frequency

I Suitable for all CATV or MATV below 550M Hz

This advertisement follows the pattern of “telling-and-selling” but in an embedded mode of intertextuality at the level of phrases. Phrases like:

“Digital frequency synthesis regulator”

“Two modes of timer (1-99 minutes) and 64 channel display”

provide factual information about the product and to inform readers about it. They play the function of telling.

Phrases like:

“The shape designed for the luxurious machine, easy operation”

“Suitable for all CATV or MATV below 550M Hz”

“Channel selection and storage for personal interest”

These three phrases intend to inform readers about how brilliant it looks, how convenient it is for use, its suitability in terms of technical requirement and the individual consumer’s needs. It plays the function of selling. The pattern of the two functions also represents a certain ideological power on the part of the producer, for telling can imply possession of knowledge and commodities. The producer as a speaker or writer has “the power to shape orders of discourse” (Fairclough 1995: 24) and to manipulate the amount and variety of information when it is publicized although the receiver is not passive because he/she has power to either accept or reject the message. Therefore, “in this process the ideological investments of particular discursive practices may change” (Fairclough 1995: 25). In order to avoid the producer’s assuming a dominant position that would weaken the commercial impact on readers and consumers, and soften the commercial

tone, the admen naturalize their purpose in selling commodities hegemonically by creating a mixed mode of texts. They seem to care about their consumer's life needs and suggest that they cater to their interests rather than to sales and profits.

The analysis shows that the sample advertisements reflect the types of intertextuality Fairclough recommends (2006). Sample 1 represents sequential intertextuality and Sample 2 contains complex features of the hybrid text that can be called embedded intertextuality. Sample 3 is most likely to be seen in the mode of mixed intertextuality. However, the types of advertising intertextuality fall into two primary functions: telling (providing more factual messages about products for the audience to know about their types and functions) and selling (expressing the positive and good points of products in evaluative terms to impress the audience). These functions are formed in a primary pattern as a principle underlying the modes of intertextuality "which is common in various institutional orders of discourse within contemporary society" (Fairclough 2006: 117). This principle is invested with ideology, because the function of telling is concerned with factual and authoritative information of specifications, and "the values of professionalism, a high sense of responsibility" (Fairclough 1994: 210). Information is delivered in a controlling voice (Thornborrow and Wareing 2000: 151) that displays the potential power of producers, while the function of selling is to persuade consumers to buy the products by means of a text displaying novelty, creativity, emotion and so on, and appealing to the values of consumerism.

Discussion

The following section is dedicated to the analysis of intertextual types in the three phases, to observe their intertextual features and explore their ideological meanings. The analytical approach is based on the pattern of

telling-and-selling, because it offers a common functional order of intertextuality which embodies ideological meanings, such as knowledge, authority, responsibility, hegemony, professionalism and consumerism. Since the body copy is more substantial in content and offers a typical view of intertextuality, the analysis will focus on the body text.

For easy identification and categorization of a text of a particular function taken from the sample, each of the functions has been coded in the telling-and-selling (information and publicity) pattern with the letter A for telling and the letter B for selling (see Table 5.17).

Table 5.17 The codified modes and patterns of intertextuality

Code	Mode of intertextuality	Code	Pattern of functions
1	Sequential intertextuality	AB	Telling and selling
2	Embedded intertextuality	AB	Telling and selling
3	Mixed intertextuality	AB	Telling and selling
4	Single text	A	Telling
5	Single text	B	Selling

For the three types of intertextuality suggested by Fairclough (2006), I enumerate the first type, sequential intertextuality, as 1, the embedded type as 2, and the mixed type as 3, so that each text's structure can be quickly recognized. The analysis of the body text, reveals that some do not have an explicit intertextual pattern and consist only of a single text type with one function, either telling or selling; they were then numbered 4 for telling and 5 for selling. The total numbers of the intertexts and their types across the three phases are shown in Appendix B.7 Tables B.7.1,2,3.

In the first phase, 20 out of 28 (71.4 percent) advertisements are hybrid

texts, in the second, 12 out of 18 (66.6 percent) and there are 30 hybrid texts out of the 35 (85.7 percent) advertisements of the third phase. The body texts in a single text type are apparently much less frequently employed by admen. The analysis revealed that intertextuality of all three types is commonly employed in the advertisements.

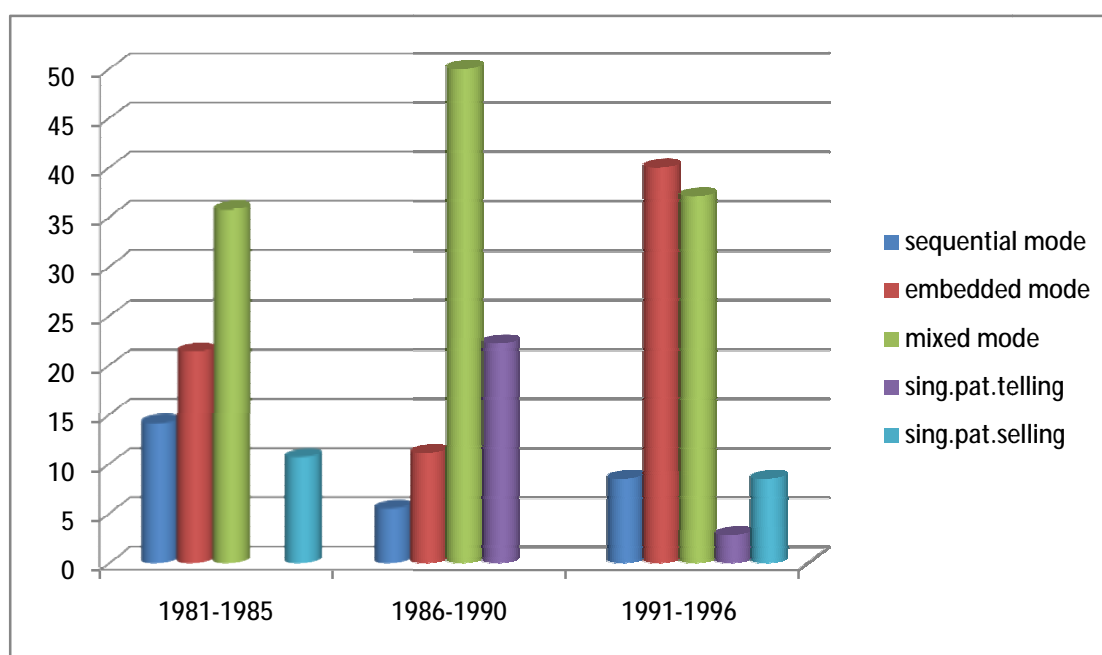


Figure 5.3 Frequencies of five types of intertextual and single patterns

Comparisons between the results of the types of intertextuality and single text patterns used throughout the three phases(see Figure 5.3), reveal that the proportion of the third type of intertextuality, the mixed mode, in each phase is quite high, reaching 35.7 percent in the first phase, 50 percent in the second phase, and 37.1 percent in the third phase. The second type of intertextuality, the embedded mode, is 21.4 percent in the first phase, in the second phase, is 11.1 percent and in the third phase is 40 percent. In the first mode of sequential intertextuality, the proportions reached 14.2 percent in the first phase, 5.5 percent in the second and 8.5 percent in the third. The single pattern of telling was none in the first phase, 22.2 percent

in the second and 2.8 percent in the third. The single pattern of selling was at 10.7 percent in the first phase, none for the second phase and 8.5 percent in the third phase. As shown in Figure 5.3, the sequential modes in the three phases are generally lower than the other two modes. The third mode, the mixed ones, are the highest of the first two phases, while in third phase it is the second highest and the embedded mode is the highest in percentage.

Regarding the principal functional structure of “telling-and-selling”, these three modes of intertextuality show little differentiation, because all the body copies contain the ideological values of professionalism and consumerism. Producers will often be in a dominant position, in control of the instruction and knowledge of products and enterprises though appearing as equal or even lower in status than the readers and potential consumers in the polite manner of language expression for persuading them to buy their products. This suggests that the basic functional structure of “telling-and-selling” and its underlying ideological values - professionalism and consumerism - are pervasive throughout the three phases. Producers and consumers experience a stable relationship in terms of power. However, there is some difference between the intertextual modes, which is exposed less by their superficial structure modes than by their contents. The second (embedded) and third (mixed) modes generally look more sophisticated, more naturally, smoothly combined than the sequential mode and therefore, the structure of “telling-and-selling” is implied as their aim to persuade consumers to purchase is concealed.

According to the Chinese National Statistic Bureau (*China Appliance* 2008), China witnessed a rapid increase in the production and export of household appliances over the period 1981-1996 (see Figure 5.4 below)

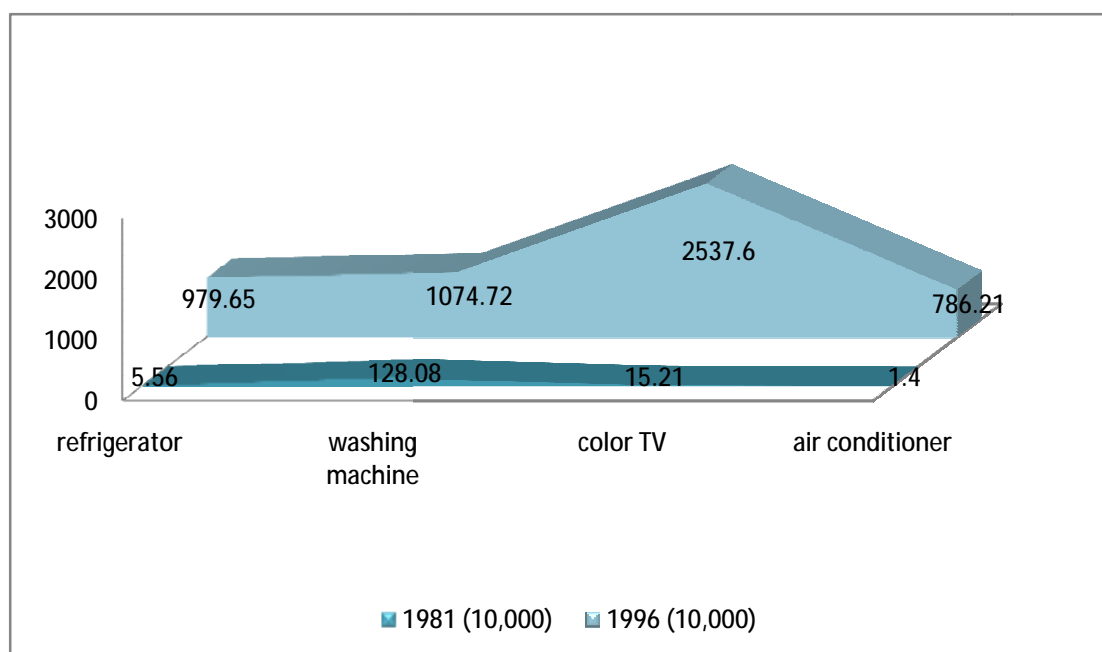


Figure 5.4 Production and export of the Chinese household appliances in 1981 and 1996

From the commercial point of view, the rapid production and accumulation in the supply of household appliances that has occurred in the Chinese market since the 1980s has created greater competition: the advertising industry has expanded and diversified. From the mid 1980s to the mid 1990s, advertising became more acceptable and changed from satisfying general public demand to helping individual customer demand; consumers' attitude towards advertising became more rational (Zhao 2012: 55, 64). Therefore, advertising with factual, specific information, (e.g. indicators of novel functions and modern technological improvement of products) in a less complex and lower sequential mode of intertextuality has diminished by contrast to other intertextual types that emerged rapidly in the third phase. Advertisers adopted the embedded mode in order to make telling and selling (or information and publicity) more natural than the simpler first type which "looks like the instruction of products"(Jiang and Dai 2002: 43)and it is also more explicit and straightforward than the third mixed type (Chen2009: 343).The advertising texts are formed in the pattern of "one text or

discourse type is clearly contained within the matrix of another” (Fairclough 2006: 118) and can be interpreted as sharing the functions of telling and selling simultaneously. That is, while the text offers the factual and explicit information about the product, it also potentially conveys the message to consumers that the product ranks best for quality, and is guaranteed by the Chinese authority. The same applies to the second and third intertextual modes that display embedded intertextuality and informality in telling people what their products can do on the one hand, while in advertising the products’ merits, such as demonstrating what they can do, aiming to sell on the other.

The use of intertextuality helps producers and advertisers contextualize the core information about products within advertising and persuasive discourses, which, therefore, involve a number of different texts types, such as texts in poetic form, in the descriptive forms, and as direct address. These various texts types help soften the producers’ impositions on consumers. But not all are designed to make the advertising appear modest and intimate. Some aim to strengthen their impact on clients explicitly. This is also considered ideological, because the producers introduce into the advertising text powerful features and components for convincing and persuading, such as certificates issued by authoritative institutions, showing global recognition and public opinion. This is most evident in advertisements of the 1980s and early 1990s (Chen 2009: 25-28).

Advertising expressions that powerfully persuade in these ways include:

“the product that the Chinese Household Appliances Association especially recommended, that it received the Global Golden Award and with which the national consumers are satisfied” (1994).

The product received “the certificate of stable quality product of Fujian

Province. They are allowed to join cable TV network" (1996).

They "Received the New Product Award issued by the Light Industrial Ministry in '87, and received the Soaring Golden Dragon Award in the National Light Industrial Campaign Week" (1994).

"The advanced work unit of mail order. Products under the supervision of the Central Testing Institute of Fujian Province" (1996).

The intertextual pattern of information-and-publicity is a way "to correlate feelings, moods or attributes to tangible objects" (Williamson 2005: 31), and "aestheticizes the commodity [...]. Thus the commodity is made to appeal to the consciously or subconsciously held values of the consumers" (Vestrgaard and Schroder 1985: 156). These prestigious references add more value to the products.

This section focused on interpreting the relations of the organic segments in the advertising text which is seen as the intertext. First, the notion of intertextuality was explained theoretically; second, three specific examples of advertisements were provided and their intertextual constituents were analyzed (or decomposed); third, the ideological investment in the advertisements' intertextuality was explored through examining the textual and functional structures of the advertising discourses; while the pattern of different modes of intertexts, based on Fairclough's discourse orders of "information-and-publicity" or "telling-and-selling"(2006: 117) was used.

The result of the analysis revealed that besides three basic text modes suggested by Fairclough, two other text modes were also found. These intertextual modes experienced a change from a simple and informative type to a more complex and persuasive type during the three phases. Though there was differentiation in the textual modes in terms of their

superficial pattern, the deep and ideological pattern which underlay them was same as “professionalism and consumerism” aiming to reach the goal of sale and profit making.

Summary

In this chapter, the verbal data analysis was conducted. In order to find out the ideological values of the linguistic features in the advertisements, I adopted Fairclough’s analytical framework for tackling the ideological values embedded in words, grammar and intertextuality. A comparative study was carried out across the three time periods based on the findings of data analysis in each time period. The chronological analysis in this chapter revealed the change of ideological values reflected by the Chinese advertising discourse.

The next chapter will be dedicated to a brief summary and conclusion of the whole work concerning findings, answers to the research questions, contributions, limitations of the current research and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Introduction

This thesis is the report of the work I did for my research and this final conclusion is a summary of the findings and their implications. These findings are able to answer the questions addressed at the early stage as well as during the research, or to conform to the theories suggested by those scholars that were mentioned in the literature review. Some findings have not turned out as expected and therefore have not provided the exact answers to the questions, but they are so valuable that they can be seen as contributions to our knowledge of the Chinese socialist society. For instance, China as a nation of socialism insists on equality of men and women which is one of the primary ideological values pursued since a long time, but from the data analysis we can see that inequality of men and women still exists where women were shown as housewives, cleaners and men as officials and designers. Some findings represent issues that have emerged during the course of my research which are interesting and can probably offer some suggestions for further research of other researchers. Below are the five parts of the conclusion: the answers to the research questions, contributions, issues, limitations of the analysis, and suggestions for further research.

6.1 Answers to Research Questions

The initial objective of my research was not very concrete indeed but vague and abstract. Even shortly after my proposal was finished, I would like to think that what I researched into was features of the Chinese advertising discourse, such as the discourse structure, the vocabulary and style of language, because at the beginning I lacked knowledge about advertising discourse, theory and practice of research. Gradually, while carrying out my

literature review and research design in depth, I narrowed down my focus on the critical analysis of the Chinese advertisements of household appliances with the intention to analyze the advertisements in two dimensions: the visual discourse and verbal discourse. Along with the progress of the research and through the supervision of my supervisors, my objectives became clarified and more concrete research questions could be addressed. Through the analysis of the advertisements a number of valuable findings were achieved, some of which could provide answers to the questions.

Questions and answers

Question one: Are there any ideological values in Chinese household appliance advertisements?

As evidenced by the results of the analysis, there are ideological values in the Chinese household appliance advertisements. They are embedded in the advertising language and illustrations.

The values contained in visual discourse are realized by the profiles and components of the illustrations. For instance, as under the item of settings, the advertisement of 1983 (see Fig.4.13 within Chapter 4) presents a picture of a group of young adults using tape-recorders and singing outdoors on a hill in a park, which suggests happiness and a leisure pursuit and entertainment. Similarly, other elements of the profiles have shown their relation to the ideological values, such as the products related to the concept of liberation of women's housework, revealing the pursuit of modernization and leisure life, the colours of headlines and backgrounds express the advertiser's intention to attract the viewers' attention; female human models express the meaning of their social position; their appearance and manner present the attractions of beauty and femininity. But at the deeper ideological level these themes of women's social position, femininity and

attractiveness may reflect the Chinese traditional sexual discrimination that women were identified as housewives laboring at home.

Those ideological values contained in the verbal discourse are realized by linguistic elements. Regarding proper nouns, for example, an advertisement gives the name of an enterprise as The State Hua Feng Radio Equipment Factory (1981); "Hua Feng", as the proper noun in its denotative meaning refers to the name of the factory and its ideological meaning can be nationalism and patriotism, because in Chinese the semantic meaning of "Hua" refers to China and "Feng" refers to prosperity.

Other linguistic features including vocabulary, grammar and textual structures can also display ideological values. At the functional level as introduced by Fairclough (1994) the linguistic elements of vocabulary and grammar contain "the experiential values, relational values and expressive values". For example, the second person pronoun "you" (in T-form and V-form) with relational values reflects the ideological function of solidarity and the degree of social relationship. With the grammar of experiential values, the use of inanimate subjects in material and relational processes is intended to play a particular ideological function, deemphasizing and excluding the human actors and reinforcing the responsible image of personified enterprises and products as if they are playing an active role for offering goods and services for consumers, but concealing the real, profit-oriented activities.

Intertextuality in advertisements is also ideological. As shown by the findings of analysis, most of the structures of intertextuality follow the pattern of telling-and-selling, which embodies ideological meanings of knowledge, authority, responsibility, hegemony, professionalism and consumerism. Advertisers keep the pattern of telling-and-selling together with these ideological elements in order to realize the further ideological

function that Thompson (2000:161) claims, "hoping to lull us into compliance by encouraging us to accept the unfamiliar as essentially familiar". The advertisers use their power of speaking and knowledge to publicize their products and familiarize the public with the products and even want them.

The findings illustrated above help us see that advertising gives those goods a social meaning, transforming thoughts into visual images (Williamson 2005), while ideology is embedded in the language (Simpson 1993) and pervasively present in language (Fairclough 1994).

Question two: What kind of ideological values are they?

Apart from the answer to the question of ideological values contained in the advertisements in words and images, some answers to the question of the variety of ideological values in advertisements were also obtained from the findings.

To answer this question is not that easy. More often in the domain of critical discourse analysis, the focus in the study of ideology is on interpreting ideological elements and meanings in the language and images and also the approach to identifying their existence in discourses. The "common-sense" assumptions of ideology given by Fairclough can hardly provide us with a complete framework to identify the variety of ideology in discourse except for recognizing the existence of ideological values. Vestergaard and Schroder (1985) offered "the notion of specific sub-ideologies in advertising discourse under the terms of dominant ideology, market consciousness and individualism". In my analysis, I adopted the approach of Vestergaard and Schroder. I also found that in my investigation and data analysis, classification of the ideological values could not simply conform to the general-and-specific mode suggested by Vestergaard and Schroder, more

criteria should be introduced. I took the contents of ideologies as the criteria and divided different kinds of ideologies into the ideological themes which represented the values of culture (e.g. hedonism, civilization) social relations (e.g. social relationship, inequality), economy (e.g. profit, consumerism), and politics (e.g. modernization, westernization, feminism). Meanwhile, I also put these ideological values into the frame of time periods in order to expose their development through which the ideological themes were then identified as newly emerging ideologies, declining and remaining ideologies, popular and mainstream ideologies, and they were later examined in comparative study.

In early 2013, I found that Chen Lei (2012) and some other scholars also used a similar method for classifying ideological values according to the position of the ideological development and contents. It means the system of classification I constructed and adopted for my analysis is reasonable and the ideas of classification are commonly shared by other scholars.

Question three: Are these ideological values static or dynamic?

Following answers to questions one and two, findings from the data analysis provided definite answers to question three. They revealed that the ideological values were both dynamic or static.

Being dynamic

As discussed in chapters 4 and 5, the varieties of ideological values were different. Some of the themes that appeared in one phase did not appear in the other phases. From this point of view, it can be called dynamic. For example, as for the visual discourse, in the first phase (1981-1985) materialism, richness and civilization were represented by plenty of food, furniture (e.g. armchairs, side tables). In the second phase (1986-1990) the theme of humanity including warmth of family, motherhood, and family

planning according to the one-child policy were presented. In the third phase (1991-1996) illustrations of planets, natural scenes of western countries, and beautiful western women in bikinis lying prone on the beach were presented to expose ideological themes of modernization, western lifestyle, globalization, hedonism and sexuality. Therefore, the ideological themes offered us a dynamic scene, in that some new themes emerged in one phase, but disappeared in another phase, while some emerged in the first phase and remained in the second but diminished in the third phase. Also some themes changed in frequency, even as they appeared in each phase (e.g. passion, advantage and advance).

Being static

Apart from the dynamic themes some looked static, because these themes appeared in each of the phases. For example, in the visual discourse under the theme of appearance, the categories of gender and age ran through the three phases that represent certain ideologies. Young women were the dominant human images in most of the advertisements, and the advertisers preferred using women to attract the viewers' attention, because they looked pretty and attractive. Therefore, in the three phases, the ideological themes of beauty and attractiveness were employed constantly.

Looking static but dynamic

There are also ideological themes which look static and unchanged on the surface, but connotatively had different meanings throughout the three phases. The results of analysis have shown that "prestige" is ideologically significant at the highest frequency of the themes used in the three periods from the 1980s to the 1990s. Despite of the similarity of some sub-themes occurring with high frequency in each time period, there are different sub-themes under the category of "prestige". In the first phase, its very

significant sub-themes included “authority”, “superiority”, and “ownership”, all related to the state and government. In the second phase, the ownership of the government was being weakened in prestige, and replaced by “globalism”, “high-quality” and “popularity” and “nationalism”. In the third phase the sub-themes of “high-quality”, “profit-making”, “globalism”, “reliability of enterprise”, “popularity” and “life-long warrant” turned to be more dominant than “ownership” and “authority” of the state and government. It suggests that in the early 1980s the modifier of “state-owned” was powerful and prestigious for setting up a positive image of enterprises. But in the 1990s the content of “prestige” turned to be marketing and profit-oriented.

As shown by the findings, the static feature and dynamic feature are not two independent states of ideological value in the three phases. Along with them there is a third feature that shows dynamic and static values as intertwined. Meanwhile, this third feature revealed a changing trend of implicit ideological values which were hidden by the main and explicit ideological value throughout the three phases like “prestige” as shown above.

Question four: What are the implications of the ideological values in the advertisements?

In the above sections of the conclusion, I have described the features of ideological values in the advertisements in the different aspects of their presence and variety, while I have also exposed the relationship between their static and dynamic ideological states in advertisements throughout the three phases. In this part, I aim to offer the answers to question four by giving further explanation about the ideological values.

On the whole, household appliance advertisements from 1980s to 1990s have displayed colourful pictures and verbal expressions. While commercial

information about products was transmitted, many ideological values were displayed. The findings of the analysis on the visual and verbal discourses also present a changing trend of ideological values in the three phases from simplicity to diversity (e.g. more ideologies in terms of number and variety appeared in the late 1980s to 1990s), from being politically-oriented to being economic and profit-oriented (e.g. there are more political proper nouns in the early 1980s), from conservation to globalization and westernization (e.g. images of body, pose, clothes), and so on. These ideological values and their change reflect the reality of Chinese politics, economy and society at a time when China experienced the growth of the market economy and evolution of Chinese mainstream ideologies. As Deng Xiaoping initiated and persisted with (1994: 363), the “‘left’ tendencies have the deepest roots [...] China should maintain vigilance against the Right but primarily against the ‘Left’ [...] Development is the absolute principle.” therefore, the Chinese government aimed to follow Deng’s viewpoint to dispel the long-term influence of ultra-leftist tendencies, to value economic development as of overriding importance, and to create a better-off life for the Chinese people.

The findings of the analysis suggest that firstly, the advertisements have the function of promoting products by attracting the viewers’ attention and persuading them to gain benefits by purchasing the products. Secondly they have the function of mirroring the values of society. Thirdly, the advertisements have the function of transmitting ideologies, while promoting the products.

At last but not least, the findings of the research also suggest that we are living in ideology. Our ideas, speech and behaviour are determined by certain kind of ideology, so we are active or passive victims of ideology. Ideology is material, which is seen in our ideas, attitudes, actions and social

activities.

Things depend on ideology, because "there is no practice except by and in an ideology; there is no ideology except by the subject and for the subject" (Althusser 1971: 170). Advertising is also endowed with ideology. Goldman (1992: 2) maintains, "Advertising is a key social and economic institution in producing and reproducing the material and ideological supremacy of commodity relations"

My analysis has shown ideology constantly exists within the advertisements in different types. As asserted by Althusser's, "Ideology is a 'representation' of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (1971: 162). In his assertion, ideology is considered as a illusion or allusion which is a falsified representation of the world but with a real world behind it. Due to the nature of "imaginary relationship", ideology may not necessarily "correspond to reality" (Althusser 1971) but through the critical study of ideological themes in the advertisements, some reality could be traced. No matter, whether ideologies are true or false, they derive from the real world and reflect the men's conditions of existence. Therefore, I would like to make my own assertion that ideology can be envisaged as the two sides of a coin, one is imaginary while the other is reflection of truth. That is why ideologies in the advertisements can offer us the reality of Chinese people's life and even their ideological change.

As far as the imaginary dimension is concerned, ideologies in the advertisements are to some extent unreal. The advertisers intend to exercise "a disproportionate influence over the ways we conceive our lives" (Goldman 1992: 2). Therefore, the advertising images and verbal expressions have been reproduced in fantasy of Chinese reality with the particular ideological themes, such as harmonious family, wealth,

globalization, prosperity, happiness and so forth. These ideologies are in some way imaginary and hegemonic, adopted by advertisers to dominate a reader's conception which can be considered as lucrative and beautiful lies, because they covered the problematic reality of Chinese society in the respect of poverty, official corruption, sex discrimination, abuse and violence in family, poor quality of products, backwardness of administration and so forth. As exposed by Williamson (1978 cited by Goldman 1992) advertisements usually position viewers to participate in an interpretation process based on false assumption, positioning viewers to presume a line of equivalence between the product and the glamorized traits of the model.

There is no doubt as a market piece for setting up corporate image and marketing products, advertising must have the function to form glamorous views and generate fantastic illusions. It is quite understandable that the imaginary ideological dimension does not correspond to reality on the one hand. However, on the other hand through our critical analysis the reality behind the imaginary relationship can be interpreted and revealed. The reality also has been reflected by the ideologies endowed in the advertisements with the imaginary relationship as such ideological themes: universe, nature, culture, homogeneity, individuality, hedonism and so forth, which have mirrored the economic development, social evolution and ideological change in China of 1980s and 1990s.

Althusser's assertion offers us a different angle for interpreting ideology. Although my chronological analysis of advertising discourse has shown the change of ideology in different time periods, the function of the imaginary relationship constantly existed within them and went along with the Chinese economic reform. Since my major concern in this thesis focused on the other side of the function of ideology that is to reveal the reality of the world, I will try to re-examine the ideologies of the Chinese advertisements with

Althusser's theoretical framework of imaginary relationship in my further research.

6.2 Contributions

This research as a doctoral program took me about 8 years from 2006 to 2014 both in China and in Britain to accomplish. I should use the term "contributions" to mean what I have conducted and achieved from my own data collection and analysis and also to mean what I have carried out is continue what other scholars and researchers have recommended or suggested but not conducted. Since researcher's work is likely to be carried out on the basis of the theories and methodology of other scholars and experts, therefore, the meaning of the contributions of my research can be defined as what I have done is the further work of others or like the "intertextuality" of previous academic texts.

The purpose of the thesis is not simply to clarify discourse features of the language of Chinese advertising, but to enquire into the unforeseen matters of ideology embedded in the Chinese household appliance advertising throughout a period of 1980s-1990s. The research mainly involved the subjects of visual and verbal discourse analysis, advertising and ideology.

The study of advertising discourse has been conducted over a long period, intensively and extensively. For this we have the evidence of the four volumes edited by Guy Cook (2008). Most of the analysis of the advertising discourse has aimed at dealing with linguistic items. For instance, Leech (1966), Myers (1997) and Goddard (1998) have examined in some detail the special features of advertising language. However, some scholars such as Vestergaard and Schroder (1985), Dyer (1993), Fairclough (1994, 2006) and Cook (2008) have conducted evaluations of advertising language and to

some extent included the content of social and ideological issues and concerns. Apart from the linguistic and sociological studies, Lacry (1998), McCracken (2001) and Williamson (2005) have decoded advertising in a semiotic approach, that is, they have examined the visual discourse for its ideological meaning. On the whole, their work concerning ideological matters has presented me with a wide range of perspectives for advertising analysis which encouraged me a great deal. Unfortunately, their work has examined advertisements separately in a particular aspect without considering them in a wider context of economic, social and ideological development during a certain period of time. In order to overcome the weakness of separate and scattered case studies with a single analytical framework, this thesis has integrated the analytic strategies of the above mentioned scholars, taken Fairclough's "critical discourse analysis" as the main line and created a more comprehensive theoretical and analytical framework for the study of the Chinese advertisements. With Fairclough's framework I have also employed Altheide's qualitative media research approach to form a specific analytical framework.

The data for the analysis was collected from the advertisements of the *Household Appliance* magazines throughout 1980s and 1990s. These magazines were the most authoritative ones in China and established in the early 1980s shortly after the Chinese economic reform that was launched in 1978, so from examining them one can witness the development of the Chinese household appliances and their advertising discourse. However, for my analysis in particular, the complete set of magazines around a crucial historical turning point of Chinese social history has offered an authentic and chronological picture in a number of aspects, particularly in respect of the ideological change which has not been covered in the current advertising discourse analysis in terms of language in China.

In addition to this, the advertising discourse analysis covered two aspects. One is the visual discourse analysis and the other is the verbal discourse analysis. The former covered a set of categories concerning human images and settings in the advertising illustrations and the latter dealt with three linguistic dimensions (i.e. words, grammar, intertextuality). Therefore, this thesis has contributed to the field of advertising discourse by way of providing comprehensive analysis involving the study of linguistics, images and ideologies within the Chinese social context of different periods.

6.3 Issues

All the above-mentioned can be thought as a significant contribution at macro level, but some specific work conducted in my research and thesis writing can be also considered as a kind of contribution to the field of advertising analysis at the micro level and an encouragement for similar research to be done by others. This kind of contribution was made in a pattern of problem-and-solution. That is, during the research and writing the thesis a variety of specific and technical issues would occur unexpectedly. Some of them could be solved by referring to the work of other researchers and some could not, because there had not been any ready-made solution to these issues from other researchers.

One of the issues at the initial stage of the research in 2007 and 2008 was the collection of materials of household appliances. I chose this kind of advertisement as the object of my study, because "household appliance was one of the three pillar industries together with automobile, and building industry in China"(Jiang and Dai 2002). I went to a number of big bookstores in Beijing and to the National Capital Library, one of the biggest national libraries in Beijing. Besides, I even asked some of my colleagues to go to other universities' libraries to search for the materials related to my research. Finally, the results were not optimistic and I could hardly obtain

any relevant books concerning advertising analysis of household appliances. This situation was not expected. However, what I did find in the National Capital Library was only some single and scattered copies of the household appliance magazines of the 1980s and 1990s which made it impossible to provide a trend of continuity for my comparative study. Fortunately, this negative situation was later changed by looking at my university's library and acquiring a complete set of the Chinese magazines of household appliances from 1981 to 1999. Therefore, my suggestion for other researchers is: do not rely too much on the influential and famous institutions. Something precious can be available in the local place nearby.

Another big problem is the shortage of academic papers and books on the study of household appliance advertising in China in the early 2000s either in Chinese or in English, especially those concerning studies using the approach of critical discourse analysis. What I first obtained were only two copies of postgraduates' theses on the advertising language studied in the approach of critical discourse analysis and they had nothing to do with household appliances. They were stored in the National Capital Library. Other materials concerned were only the introduction and reports on the development of household appliances in China. Although later, along with the progress of my work, I found more references published or available from the net, they were still inadequate. There has been rare availability of materials, particularly for the chronological study of household appliance advertising. Then I designed my own research framework and devices with reference to the useful theories and findings of other researchers. It is therefore possible to say that what I have done is to fill the gap in the domain of research into household appliance advertising in China.

Recalling the whole process of analysis, I found that there were strengths and weaknesses in the critical approach suggested by Fairclough. First, at

the ideological level this approach sets a fresh and practical objective for researchers in that it seeks to show up "the connections between language, power and ideology" (Fairclough 1994: 5). Secondly, for exposing the ideological meanings in the discourse, Fairclough developed a three-stage system of critical analysis, i.e. description for textual analysis, interpretation for discursive analysis, and explanation for social context. This is "a highly-structured framework of analysis [that] enables you to offer a wealth of critical assessments" (Pierce 2008: 297). It is true that the framework laid a positive ground for my research from the early stage to examine the discourse at different levels, i.e. textual, discursive and social dimensions. The approach was designed for the qualitative analysis, emphasizing deeper examination of language and as criticized by Pierce (2008: 267) it is "primarily concerned with how the text is presented and reported rather than the frequency of key words used". Therefore, Fairclough has demonstrated in his analysis usually of single, separate linguistic elements and texts at a certain point of time, although some comparative study was also conducted between two texts but in a synchronic manner. Too little was considered for the study of a large number of texts in one period of time or texts of different time periods. To avoid this weakness I had to do more than the qualitative analysis found in Fairclough's framework. I had to adopt the quantitative analysis of advertisements coexisting in one period of time to reveal the frequency of the key linguistic items (words, clauses and texts) and their ideological meanings, and also to make a comparative analysis of the ideological values and their changes over different time periods. Another weakness of Fairclough's framework is that he did not provide any explanation of how the ideological theme was created or identified. For solving this issue, I referred to other researchers' works (Zhao 2012, Chen 2011, Lin 2012) which are the more recent studies than Fairclough's and the political mainstream ideologies at certain time periods, and then conceptualized the data into a set of ideological themes which can be seen in

the sections of words of expressive values and grammar of expressive values in Chapter 5. After the key linguistic items were coded and counted according to their themes, I calculated their percentages and compared them in chronological order.

6.4 Limitations of the Analysis

This analysis consists mainly of qualitative and exploratory research. That is, what I have done is to conduct an initial survey on a set of Chinese advertisements with the purpose of presenting the different kinds of ideological issues that they might contain. Since the sample size is comparatively small and limited to one type of magazine, it may be impossible to provide the very strongly representative conclusion. Further work is needed. So my present research can be also called a preparatory practice devoted to a future large-scale analysis.

6.5 Suggestions for Further Research

According to Pierce:

The analysis must be an “inside job”. So, the analyst must be reflexive and seek to develop their own MR(members’ resources) by developing their own theoretical understandings and experience of society and politics. The critical discourse analyst can therefore be likened to an “expert forensic witness.”

(2008: 290)

A great deal of analysis was exercised in Fairclough’s three-system framework: description, interpretation and explanation. The quality of the work, to a large extent, depended on the level of the analyst’s understandings and experience of society and politics as mentioned above.

Therefore, the broader the knowledge of sociology and politics the analyst has, the better the results achieved by the exploration of ideological matters of advertising language. For this, a large amount of work of literature review before and within the analysis is highly beneficial.

The analysis of this time period was concerned with the connection between the Chinese social contexts and the ideological elements in the advertising. Since the development and expansion of advertising business in China is closely related to Chinese reform and opening up to the global market, the impact of western culture, values and economy on the Chinese advertising area should be dealt with. If possible, in any future work, I will further the analysis on the impact of the western ideologies on the cultural and social values which are embedded in Chinese advertisements.

What I have done most in this analysis is to reveal the ideologies in the advertising according to my own understanding. Although reasonable evidence could be offered for supporting my viewpoints, some of them may still sound a little subjective. To be able to generate more objective and convincing arguments, I suggest that more empirical study could be undertaken. Therefore, it is expected and recommended that a new framework will be designed for the ideological values in the material to be more accurately observed and examined.

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Appendix A.1

Frequency of each copy element (1981-1985)

The total number of contents is 145. In comparison, it is found that of these figures, the highest frequency of copy element is the headline at 17.2%, the second highest frequency is 16.6% for name. Although addresses of producers, telephone and telegram numbers are not as high as the headlines and names of producers, their frequencies are very close to the second highest at 15.2% for address, 14.5% for telephone and 13.1% for telegram. Similar as that the item of body copy is at 13.8% while the much lower frequencies of the elements are subhead of 2.8%, bank and bank account, each at 0.7% .

Table A.1.1 a Frequency of each copy element (1981-1985)

Element	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	Total	Percentage
Headline	5	2	5	3	10	25	17.2%
Subhead	2	2				4	2.8%
Body copy	3		6	3	8	20	13.8%
Caption	2		1		2	5	3.4%
Tagline	1					1	0.7%
Name	5	2	6	3	8	24	16.6%
Address	4	2	5	3	8	22	15.2%
Telephone	4	2	5	3	7	21	14.5%
Telegram	3	2	5	2	7	19	13.1%
Agency	1			1		2	1.4%
Bank					1	1	0.7%
Bank account					1	1	0.7%
Total						145	

Table A.1.1 b Link between the form and function of advertising discourse (1981-1985)

	Display copy			Body copy						
Form	Headline	Subhead	Tagline	Body copy (text)	Caption	Name	Address	Telephone	telegram	Bank
Function	Attract attention, arouse interest 20.7%			Stimulate desire, create conviction		Get action 62.2%				

		17.2%	
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Frequency of each copy element (1986-1990)

By comparison, the highest frequency of the copy elements is 21% for the names of enterprises, the second highest frequency is 18% for headline. These two elements do not have big difference in number. The much lower frequencies of the elements are the tagline of 6%, and caption of 7%.

Table A.1.2 a Frequency of each copy element (1986-1990)

Element	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	Total	Percent.
Headline	3	7	3	2		15	18%
Subhead							0%
Body copy	3	5	2	1		11	13%
Caption	3		1	1	1	6	7%
Tagline	3	1		1		5	6%
Name	5	7	2	2	1	17	21%
Address	1	6	2	2		11	13%
Telephone	1	6	2			9	11%
Telegram	1	5	1	1		8	10%
Bank							0%
Bank accou.							0%
Total						82	

Table A.1.2 b Link between the form and function of advertising discourse (1986-1990)

	Display copy		Body copy					
Form	Headline	Tagline	Body copy (text)	Caption	Name	Address	Telephone	telegram
Function	Attract attention, arouse interest 24% .		Stimulate desire, create conviction 20%		Get action 55%			

Table A.1.3. Frequency of each copy element (1991-1996)

The specific number for each category is shown below (see Table A.3). Compared with other elements, the highest frequency is for both the headline at 11.5%, the body copy at 10.9%. Meanwhile, the name and

address of producer rank the second highest frequency of 10.2% each. Telephone and post code are closely following the second highest rank the third at 9.9% and the fourth at 8.8% while the telegram is no longer high which remains far behind at 3.1%. The much lower frequencies of these elements are subhead of 2.8%, bank and bank account, each at 0.7%.14 for caption.

Table A.1.3 a Frequency of each copy element (1991-1996)

Element	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	Total	Percentage
Headline	3	2	4	9	7	9	34	11.5%
Subhead					1	2	3	1.0%
Body copy (text)	2	2	5	8	8	7	32	10.9%
Caption	3	1	1	4	3	2	14	4.8%
Tagline	1		2	1	2	1	7	2.4%
Slogan						1	1	0.3%
Name	3	2	3	6	8	8	30	10.2%
Address	3	1	3	7	8	8	30	10.2%
Post code	3	1	2	6	6	8	26	8.8%
Telephone	3	1	2	6	8	9	29	9.9%
Telegram	2		2	1	1	3	9	3.1%
Fax	2		2	2	5	7	18	6.1%
Liaison	1	1	1	5	5	1	14	4.8%
Agency	1	1			2	4	8	2.7%
Price		1	1		3	6	11	3.7%
Bank	1		1	2	4	4	12	4.1%
Bank account	1	1	1	2	5	4	14	4.8%
Representative for sales			1				1	0.3%
Slogan						1	1	0.3%
Total							294	

Table A.1.3 b Link between the form and function of advertising discourse (1991-1996)

	Display copy				Body copy						
Form	Headline	Subhead	Tagline	slogan	Body copy (text)	Caption	Name	Address	Telephone	telegram	Bank
Function	Attract attention, arouse interest 14.6%				Stimulate desire, create conviction 15.7%		Get action 68.7%				

Table A.1.4 Color of words (headline / background) 1981-1985

Color of words	Vs	Color of background
Red	Vs	White, light brown
Blue	Vs	White, green, brown
Black	Vs	White
White	Vs	Blue, red, brown
Green	Vs	White
Orange	Vs	White, blue

Table A.1.5 Color of words (headline / background) 1986-1990

Color of words	Vs	Color of background
Red	Vs	White, light brown, grey
White	Vs	Blue, black,
Yellow	Vs	Grey, dark blue,
Dark blue	Vs	Light blue

Table A.1.6 Color of words (headline / background) 1991-1996

Color of headline	Vs	Color of background
Red	Vs	White, yellow, dark blue
White	Vs	Blue, dark green, orange, light purple, light grey
Yellow	Vs	Grey, dark blue, light blue, white, orange, light grey
Blue	Vs	Pink, white
Black	Vs	White, light grey, light blue, brawn, red
Green	Vs	Light grey, dark purple, light blue,
Pink	Vs	Light blue, light purple, white, grey
Gold	Vs	Black, white, blue, green
Multi-color	Vs	Gray, blue

Appendix A.2

1981-1985. 2 Actor (A) Representation of Appearance

Table A.2.1 Age, Gender, Nationality (1981-1985)

Item	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985		Total	percent	
Ads with Image	6	2	6 (col.)	4	5	5B	28	%	
Age 40s						2			
30s	4	2	6	11	5	7	32	68	
20s	1		5	2	1	3	12	26	
10s	1			1			2	4	
Child				1			1	2	
Subtotal	6	2	11	15	6	12	47		
Gender/ female	6	2	8	11	6	8	40	81	
Male			3	6		4	9	18	
Subtotal	6	2	11	17	6	12	49		
National/Chn	6	2	11	17	6	12	49	100	
Subtotal	6	2	11	17	6	12	49		

Female images are 11 including one among the crowd (1984) and half body of a woman with a skirt and legs.

Images play the role of consumer rather than producer and manufacturer.

Table A.2.2 Age, Gender, Nationality (1986-1990)

Item	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	Total	%
Vol.with imag	5	7	3	2	1	18	
Age							
50s(above)					4	4	11
40s					1	1	3
30s	2	5		3	3(1/Fem)	13	36
20s	4	4	3			11	30
10s							
Child	1	1		2		4	11
Others					3	3	8
Subtotal	7	10	3	5	11	36	
Gender							
F.	7	10	1	2	1	21	58
M.			2	3	10	15	42
Subtotal	7	10	3	5	11	36	
Nation							
Chi.	7	10	3	5	11	36	100
Subtotal	7	10	3	5	11	36	

Table A.2.3 Age, Gender, Nationality (1991-1996)

Item	1991 7/592/3	1992 6/3596	1993	1994	1994	1995	1995	1996	1996	Total	%
Vol. with imag	3	2	3+1robot	5	4b	5(95)	3b(95)	5(96)	5b (96)	36	
Age/60s							2			2	3
40s					1		3			5	8
30s	6	2	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	28	46
20s		1		2	2	3	3	3	6	21	35
10s							3			3	5
Child			1							1	2
Others						3					
Subtotal	6	3	3	4	6	8	14	6	8	60	
Gender	2	1	2	2	4	4	5	4	3	27	46.5
F.						(2col)					
M.	4	2	1	2	2	4	9	2	5	31	53.4
Subtotal	6	3	3	4	6	8	14	6	8	58/n	
Nation/ Chi./Fore	6	3	2 1Fore	2 2Fore	4 2Fore.	1Ch (2col) /1F	11Chi 3F	6F*	8F.	31 29	51 49
Others				1gorrila	1 doll/for	6					
Total	6	3	3	4	7	8 (2co)	14	6	8	60	

Table A.2.4 Hairstyle (1981-1985)

Item	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	Total	Percent
Ads with Imag	6	2	6 (col.)	4	5 5B	26	%
Dp.sh.	3		7	3	1 3	16	33
Short				2		2	4
Long	1	1		2	2 3	10	20
Short, curly	1	1		4	3	9	18
Short ripple	1		1			2	4
Sh. Texturi.			3	4	3	7	14
Cap				1	1	1	2
Cover					2	2	4
Waves							
Subtotal	6	2	11	16	6 12	49	

Appendix A.3

Table A.3.1 Eye contact (1981-1985)

Item	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985		Total	Percent	
Ads with Imag	6	2	6 (col.)	4	5	5B	28	%	
Audience	5		3	3	2	6	19	40	
Obliquely/upw		1					1	2	
Slop.down		1					1	2	
To each other			6				6	13	
Look.sideways				4	3		7	15	
At someone	1		1		1		3	6	
At sth else						1	1	2	
At cash				3			3	6	
At product			1	6		5	7	15	
Others									
Total	6	2	11	16	6	12	48		

Eye contact to audience and someone look inviting combining smiling

Table A.3.2 Eye contact (1986-1990)

Item	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	Total	%
Vol.imag	5	7	3	2	1	18	
Audience	2	5	1			8	22
Obliquely							
Slop. down		2				2	5
To each other	2	2		2		6	2
Sideways		1				1	3
To someone	1			1	4	6	2
To cash							
To product	2		1	1		4	11
To sth			1		1	2	6
To exhibit					4	4	11
Others				1	3	4	11
Total	7	10	3	5	12	37	

Table A.3.3 Eye contact (1991-1996)

Item	1991	1992	1993	1994		1995		1996		Total	%
Vol.	3	2	3+1robot	5	4B	5	3B	5	5b	36	
Audience	1	3	3	1	2	3	4	2	1	20	30
Obliquely											
Slop. down											
To each oth.								4		4	6
Sideways				3		3			3	9	14
To someone											

To sth (else)					1		5			6	9
To cash											
To product					3	Col.	6			9	14
To machine	5					2+col.				7	11
To th dri											
Back						2			5	7	11
Others			Robot	Gorilla	Doll					3	5
Total	6	3	4	5	7	10+col.	15	6	9	65	

Appendix A.4

Props and settings

Props

Table A.4

Item	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985		Total	Percent	
Ads with Image	6	2	6	4	5	5B	28	%	
Props									
Desk/Table			1	2		1	4	4	
Armchair	7		2	1	4		14	15	
Sofa		1	2	1			4	4	
Sidetable	4	1	2				7	7	
Bed (soft)				2	1		3	3	
Food/cake	1		1				2	2	
Sugar	1						1	1	
Drink/sft, alc.	1	1	2	1			5	5	
Fruit	1		1				2	2	
Cloth	2	1					3	3	
Showcase	1						1	1	
Curtain			1	1	2	5	9	10	
Windo. blinds									
Calendar	1						1	1	
Picture	1			1			2	2	
Tea set									
Telephone					1		1	1	
Flower vase	3		2	1		1	7	7	
Magazine	2		2		1	2	7	7	
Book	1			1			2		
Equipment	1						1	1	
Lamp				1			1	1	
Musical instrm.			3				3	3	
Ornam. tree									
Sculpture				1		1	2	2	
Umbrella					1		1	1	
Oven						1	1	1	
Pot						1	1	1	
Cupboard				1		1	2	2	
Counter				1			1	1	
Thermo				1			1	1	
Receipt book				1			1	1	
Carbon paper				1			1	1	
Wooden cash box				1			1	1	
Account recd book				1			1	1	

Shelf				1			1	1	
Banner headline				1			1	1	
Long fluorescent				1			1	1	
Total	26	4	19	22	10	13	94		

Appendix A.5

The protocol of the household appliance advertisements (1981-1996)

Source: the Household Appliance Magazine

Year: 1981-1985

Serial Number: (the original photo number)

Advertisement for (product):

Profiles of the advertisement:

- I. Advertised products**
- II. Contents and ideological work of the ads**
- III. Colors of headlines and backgrounds**

The advertisement with the visual image

I. Actor:

A. Appearance

a. Age, Gender, Nationality

b. Hairstyle

c. Body

B. Manner

a. Facial expression

b. Eye contact / Gaze at...

c. Pose

d. Clothing

e. Cloth color

II. Props and Settings:

A. Props

B. Settings

The advertisement with the verbal text

I. Vocabulary:

A. Words with experiential values

B. Words with relational values

C. Words with expressive values

II. Grammar:

A. Grammar with experiential values

B. Grammar with relational values

C. Grammar with expressive values

III. Structure:

Structure of the advertisements

Intertextuality

Appendix B. 1

Findings related to experiential values of vocabulary:proper nouns in the three time periods.

Period One: 1981-1985.

Table B.1.1 below illustrates the meanings of proper nouns at three levels of meaning collected from the advertisements of 1981-1985.

Table B.1.1Meanings of proper nouns in the advertisements (1981-1985)

Proper noun	Meaning 1 (denotative)	Meaning 2 (semantic)	Meaning3 (metaphoric and ideological)
Tianjin	Factory	A city	Credit, authority
Zhong Hua	Brand name	Ancient name of China	History of China
Golden Dragon	Prize for product	Value and emperor	Nationalism, soul of China
Yan Wu	Brand name	birds flying and dancing	Prosperity, happiness
Bai Hua	Brand name	Hundreds of flowers	Prosperity
The Light Industrial Ministry	Government administrations	Authority responsible for the nationwide light industrial business	Authority, prestige
Shanxi	Prize	Province	Authority, prestige
Beijing	Factory	Metropolitan	Authority,prestige

In this table, the proper nouns are ideologically significant, displaying these themes: cultural elements; prosperity; nationalism; revolutionary spirit; high technology; power and authority. These proper nouns reflect particular ideological matters of that time; they mediate currently dominant attitudes to history, nature, and so on, as if they were universally true and valid (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 152), so it is worth addressing them ideologically.

Cultural elements

The proper nouns “Zhong Hua”, “Golden Dragon”, “the Great Wall” represent China, strength and power, and are likely to remind people of

Chinese cultural elements, such as China's history. These Chinese proper nouns are symbols of Chinese history and the soul of China, (Chen Peiai 2010: 14) and are widely known to and appreciated by the Chinese people. The products that collocate with these brand names are products made in China by Chinese producers. The light industry, in particular the electric industry and their products in China used to be backward due to the shortage of technology, the interruptions caused by mass political movements (e.g. the Great Leap Forward the Cultural Revolution), the priorities of strengthening national defense and developing heavy industry. The ability to produce electric products must be considered as one of the biggest achievements in the Chinese industry of which the people should be proud.

Prosperity

"Yan Wu" is a brand name for a radio recorder. The brand name, "Yan Wu" can be traced from their original source of Mao's poem *Back to the Jinggang Mountain* to imply the Chinese people's life in a prosperous condition like birds flying and dancing in the sky, and "Bai Hua" is another brand name for the fan. Literarily, "Bai Hua" in Chinese means hundreds of flowers symbolizing the concept of beauty, spring season, and connotatively means wealthy life. This kind of phrase can be seen in Mao's words, such as "All flowers bloom together" or "Flowers of every kind are in bloom" when he delivered a speech in 1956. In this, producers who named the products appeal to the held values in consumers, the desire for living a happy life for "linking possible unattainable things with those that are attainable, and thus reassures us that the former are within reach" (Williamson 2002: 31).

Nationalism

In the sample advertisements, some proper nouns exploited for the names of factories include cultural elements within ideological values. "Hua Feng", name of a radio equipment factory, has the added meaning of Chinese

prosperity. "Hua" is the simplified Chinese version of "China", "Feng" means plenty, wealth and harvest in Chinese. So the proper noun is not only the name of a factory but also expresses the desire of its owners for "good luck" and "peace" (Guo and Hao 2010: 109, 164), and prosperity of their business and production. As this factory is a state-owned enterprise, and as its operation and business were planned and administrated by the Chinese government, to name it as Hua Feng is also to build it up as one of the prosperous state-owned enterprises of China so reflecting a kind of national and patriotic feeling and enthusiasm for the successful construction of the Chinese national light industry.

Revolutionary spirit

Similarly, another proper noun that has been invested with significantly ideological meaning is the name of a wholesale store. It adopts one of the political nominal groups, "the Long March", famous in the Chinese contemporary history in the 1930s. The metaphorical meaning of "the New Long March" transferred from the ideological value of the original Long March (the Chinese Communist Party's military transfer), has been transferred to 'the New Long March' hardware and electric products wholesale store. It reflects the Chinese people's memory of the Chinese revolution and the Red Army's achievements in modern Chinese history, and also, as An Ying Min and An Chang Fu (1996) point out, the people's need to carry forward the spirit of the Long March in the construction of Chinese-style socialism.

High technology

Quality is the greatest concern of consumers, hence quality is one of the specific ideological properties in advertising and exploited by admen, through which they can give the commodity a symbolic value or image (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 153). Some of the advertisements for household appliances deliberately mentioned the name of a foreign

company in their advertising expressions, like "Sanyo, internationally famous", or "imported from Japan". These are adopted by the Chinese advertisers as an index of good quality products. There is a common concept in most Chinese consumers' mind that Japan has a longer history of making electric appliances than China, therefore are generally better in quality. These two proper nouns, "Sanyo", "Japan" explicitly expressed to expose a popular ideological notion that the products with imported parts and internationally famous brand name must be reliable due to their quality and advanced technology.

Power and authority

A number of proper nouns of the authoritative administrations, at the state level, provincial and metropolitan levels are collocated with the nouns of awards, prizes, and certificates in the advertising. For instance, "Jilin Provincial Superb Quality Award for Products", "Golden Dragon Prize for excellent and new products" issued by "the State Economic Commission", appointed by "the Light Industrial Ministry". The involvement of authoritative administrations exercises the bureaucratic action of control and makes the enterprises "to be objects to be ordered, checked, registered, shifted, and so forth" (Fairclough 1994: 212). When the proper nouns of enterprises are placed at the top of the advertisements in the headlines or at the beginning of the body copy, they can foreground the image and prestige of the producers better than being written at the bottom in the closing paragraph which is designed for the purpose of contact as the call to action does. In addition, some of the proper nouns of the Chinese cities, such as Beijing and Tianjin were used in the names of the factories are not only to tell consumers where the products were produced, but also to transmit a sense of prestige of the enterprises, which make them believe the reliability and credit of the products quality, because the two cities had their own advantages in their positive images. In the economically backward China

during the early 1980s, the names of the two cities were more influential than other cities.

Period two: 1986-1990

Table B. 2 below illustrates the meanings of proper nouns at three levels of meaning collected from the advertisements of 1986-1990.

examples.

Table B.1.2 Meanings of the proper nouns in the advertisements (1986-1990)

Proper noun	Meaning 1 (Denotative)	Meaning 2 (semantic)	Meaning 3 (connotative)
China	Region of production	Nation	National pride
Japanese (product)	Standard of product	Foreign country	Advanced technology, perfect quality
Golden fish	Brand name	Precious metal	Great wealth
Bao Bo	Brand name	Treasure wave	Long-lasting wealth
New Happiness	Brand name	Emotion of joy	Well-being life
Rainbow	Brand name	Colorful lights in the sky after raining	Auspiciousness
Jing Mei	Brand name	Beijing / beauty	Pride
Ju Hua	Brand name	Chrysanthemum	Beauty, elegance
Xiang Xue Hai	Brand name	Fragrance, snow, sea	
Bole	Brand name	Talent scout	Intelligence
Jia Ying	Brand name	Beautiful oriole	Beauty, prosperity
Chinese Musician Federation	Business administration	Being responsible for qualification, approval of nationwide music matters	Authority
State-owned factory	Factory	An enterprise run by government which had the right to produce household appliance, (Huang Mi,)	Privilege, credit, planned economy of socialism, reliability for quality
The designated unit by the Light Industrial Ministry	Enterprise	An enterprise trusted by the high rank authority	Credit
National unified test, quality control system	Administrative means	Being responsible for testing and controlling product quality	Credit, authority

Premier Zhao Ziyang, Vice Premier Tian Jiyun.	Top leaders in China	Highly-ranked officials managing and controlling the Chinese economy and political affairs, (proper names)	Credit, authority
Golden Flying Dragon award of S&T	Award	A big and powerful animal with claws flying in the sky and swimming in the sea	Power, credit
Modern Science and Technology	Award	Modern, science, technology	Modernization of S&T

As shown in the table, the proper nouns can be grouped to show the following themes: nationalism; cultural connotation; authority; and modernization.

Nationalism

For a long time Chinese people, were educated in a theoretical framework of socialism, patriotism and collectivism. In order to persuade prospective customers to believe in the quality of products, advertisements have appealed to people's faith in the nation using "China", "national", "Chinese" .

Cultural connotation

The three brand names, "Double Fish", "Golden Fish", "Bao Bo" express the concept of wealth and luck. To analyze the first of these: "Fish" in Chinese is pronounced "yu" meaning rich and surplus. 'Double' in Chinese means luck and Chinese people say, "Good things should be in pairs". "Double Fish" reflects the notion of Yin (negative) and Yang (positive) which is the Chinese philosophical system of Daoism. The combination of Yin and Yang symbolizes the harmonious relationship between heaven, earth and human being.

Authority

The institutional names, such as "Light Industrial Ministry, Guangdong

Province”, suggest the political and authoritative values of national authority, government, and high ranking administrative units of China, while the rewards, quality certificates and proofs issued by these institutions, and imposed “from above” ,can be seen as powerful, reliable and persuasive. In addition the names of top leaders such as “Comrade Deng Xiaoping”, “Premier Zhao Ziyang”, are adopted by advertisers. This reflects the ideological notion of authoritarianism (Heywood 2007: 80), the belief in or the practice of government “from above”.

Modernization

The advertisements in the second phase include new proper nouns conveying meanings of beauty, wealth and modernization, and so on, suggesting the ideological domain moved from political and national values to the values of life, material and spirit.

Period Three: 1991-1996

Table B.1.3 below illustrates the three levels of meaning collected from the advertisements of 1991-1996.

Table B.1.3 Meanings of proper nouns of 1991-1996

Proper noun	Meaning 1 (denotative)	Meaning 2 (semantic)	Meaning 3 (connotative)
Hua Li	China, splendor /profit	company	Nationalism, making profit
Meng Mei (Mermaid)	Dream	Brand name	Earnestly longing, wish
Lankai (Lanka)	Triumph	Company	Success, accomplishment (p66 Jiadianguangao)
Hua Xiang	China / auspiciousness	Factory	Nationalism, auspiciousness
Li Xing	Profit/prosperity	Company	Profit creation, prosperity
Xing Xing	Stars	Company	Outstanding, potential

			development
Tong Bao	Extension in all directions/treasure	Corporation	Smooth development, making profit
Yi You	Mentor, good friend	Company	Reliable friendship, harmony
Jia Li	Fine / profit, interest	Factory	Extremely good profit
He Ping	Peace	Factory	Without fight, harmony
Xiao Tian Er	Little swan	Corporation	Purity, loveliness
Xiao Tian Cai	Little talent	Brand name	Intelligence, loveliness
Xing Ke	Star / science	Factory	Potential development, science
Yuan Da	Far / achieve	Company	Strength, power, accomplishment
Hua Guang	China / light, bright	Group	Nationalism, promising future
Wu You	Without worry and anxiety	Brand name	Freedom, harmony
Shun Xin	Conformation / new	Company	Harmony
Chao Shi Ji	Cross-century	Technology institute	Fast development
Jing Cheng	Absolute sincerity, good faith	Company	Sincerity, harmony
Hua Lu	China, heron	Company	Elegance, high quality
Hua Jia	Picture, beautiful, fine	Brand name	Perfect quality, beauty
Tian Tong	Heavenly / paradise (any place of complete bliss and delight and peace) communication	Company	Smooth development
Zhen Shi	Real vision	Brand name	Perfect quality, truth

In this table, the proper nouns are ideologically significant, displaying these themes: Nationalism and Business Growth; Harmony; Profit; Development of Business. These proper nouns reflect the particular ideological matters of this third period.

Nationalism and business growth

As mentioned earlier the notion of nationalism has been rooted deeply in the Chinese mind, so companies still used “Hua” (China) as their names in the third phase, for example, “Hua Li”, and “Hua Lu”, intended to be identified as enterprises with Chinese characteristics. Although this occurred in the 1990s during an era of globalization when many enterprises joined with foreign

companies as joint ventures, they still kept the word "Hua" (China): for example, "Sino-Overseas Joint Venture Xuzhou Hua Li Mould Co. Ltd" (1991). Meanwhile, with "Hua" (China) in association with "Li" (profit), "Xiang" (splendor), "Guang" (light and brightness) demonstrated the desire for business to grow constantly with increasing profits.

Harmony

The ideological value of harmony is seen in some of the enterprise names in advertisements, such as He Ping (peace, without conflict), "Yi You" (mentor and friendship) and "Jing Cheng" (absolute sincerity and good faith). "Jing Cheng" is an adjective often used in the nominal group in Chinese as a modifier for the noun of cooperation as the head, like sincere cooperation and sincere union between good friends, partners and enterprises. These words reflect values concerning creating harmonious relationship between people, producers and consumers. The producers name their enterprises with the moral norm of making people believe they are trustworthy friends of consumers and to maintain this harmonious relationship.

Profit

Since companies and producers are profit-making organizations, some express the profit making wish in their names, such as Sino-Overseas Joint Venture Xuzhou "Hua Li" Mould Co. Ltd (1991). According to traditional Chinese Confucianism "Li" (profit) is defined as material gain, acquisitiveness and goods. However, in China, "Yi" (rightness, loyalty, friendship and justice) is more important than profit (see the section on Harmony above).

Development of business

The four corporate names in this period are embedded with the meaning of development. The most significant proper noun is "Chao Shi Ji", meaning to surpass the century, and suggesting high speed development in business.

The concept of development, particularly economic development has been a modern ideological value since 1978, and was so highly valued by Deng Xiaoping that the Chinese word “development” occurred in his *Selected Works* II and III (1994) 991 times.

Comparative study of the structure of corporation proper names in the three phases

In China the names of enterprises normally consists of three parts: first the regional name, second the words which express the corporation’s intentions, and third the type of unit and its major business. For example, “Zhenjiang Xing Ke (Star Science) Communications Equipment Factory”. The names of enterprises usually foreground either the name of a Chinese province or the name of a Chinese city. To use the names of province and city must be done in accordance with the compulsory code of “The Temporal Regulations of the Names of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises” issued by the State Industrial and Commercial Administrative Authority in 1985 (110.com / regulations 2013/6/12). A central part of the code is to put the corporations under the administration of the central government even in the respect of naming the corporations. So the words of Chinese provinces and cities are not simply employed for being recognition, they suggest the authority and regulations of the official administration and also the legal status approved by powerful administrative institutions.

The second part (for example Xing Ke - Star Science) can be analyzed to discover ideological traces. The table below compares the themes identified in the three time periods.

The following themes were identified :

Table B.1.4 Ideological themes of the three phases

Theme (ideological)	Phase 1 1981-85	Phase 2 1986-90	Phase 3 1991-96
Nationalism	•	•	•
Prosperity	•	•	
Xenophile	•	•	
Quality	•		•
Happiness	•		
Power / authority(political)	•	•	•
Credit	•	•	•
Revol. Spirit/socialism	•	•	
Globalization		•	
Wealth		•	
Auspiciousness		•	
Novelty		•	
Modernization		•	
Pride		•	
Intelligence		•	•
Harmony		•	•
Elegance / beauty		•	•
Wish / desire			•
Accomplishment			•

Flourishing			•
Profit			•
Bright future			•
Friendship			•
Development			•
Smoothness			•
Potential			•

The distribution of the ideological meanings revealed by the proper nouns presents a diverse pattern. The ideological meanings of the proper nouns used in the first phase remain politically oriented, such as nationalism, authority, socialism. The proper nouns of prosperity and happiness do not appear to have obviously political colour. They might, however, covertly reflect some emotional feeling of that era following a long period of class struggle, considered as the top priority in China and the beginning of Chinese economic construction understood as the central work of the Chinese Communist Party.

It is apparent that the ideological elements in the second phase are more varied: the number of ideological varieties increased from 6 to 15 ranging from ancient to present day values, such as intelligence, modernization , authority; from materialism to the Chinese philosophy, such as wealth, auspiciousness and harmony. The emergence of the new ideological elements suggests a shift in people's consciousness to become less mono-layered and politically oriented. Meanwhile, it also reflects the trend of Chinese mainstream ideology.

The variety of proper names in the third phase increased over the previous two phases, and their ideological values were not limited to traditional

Chinese cultural and political notions, such as “fish”, “dragon”, “the Long March” and political top leaders. Some earlier ideological values were replaced by new ones in the third phase, such as development, friendship, harmony and profit.

The fact that the ideological values employed by advertisers in the third phase were more diverse and comprehensive, indicates that along with economic growth in China, ideological values dominated by political notions were weakened. The development of business began to assume the leading role in ideology. For example, “harmony” is one of the main ideological values deeply rooted in Chinese social life that remains during the era of modernization. People did not respond positively to those radical and political assertions associated with class struggle and these were not mentioned after reform began. Therefore, proper nouns associated with harmony alongside others associated with development and creating profit that were familiar to the public provided a better choice for the producers in presenting a friendly, encouraging public image.

Appendix B. 2 Words of relational values

Table B.2.1 Personal pronouns 1981-1985

Singular	Pronoun	Number	Percentage %
2 nd pers. (V)	You (Your)	7	53.8%
2 nd pers. (T)	you	2	15.3%
Plural	Pronoun		
First person	Our	4	30.7%
Total		13	

The percentages of their frequencies in Table B.2.1 are presented as follows: 53.8% for the 2nd personal pronoun of the honorific title, which ranks the highest at frequency; 15.3% for the 2nd personal pronoun, and 30.7% for the 1st plural personal pronoun which is at the second highest frequency.

Table B.2.2 Personal pronouns 1986-1990

Singular	Pronoun	Number	Percentage %
2 nd pers. (V)	You	5	71.4%
2 nd pers. (T)	You	1	14.2%
Plural	Pronoun		
1 st person	Our	1	14.2%
Total		7	

As shown in Table B.2.2, 71.4% is for the 2nd person pronoun of the honorific title remaining at the highest frequency; 14.2% for the 2nd personal pronoun, and 14.2% for the 1st plural personal pronoun. The frequencies of the two personal pronouns are equal and much lower than the 2nd personal pronoun in the honorific title.

Table B.2.3 Personal pronouns 1991-1996

Singular	Pronoun	Number	Percentage %
1 st person	I (my)	3	14.2%
2 nd pers. (V)	You (your)	8	38%
2 nd pers. (T)	You (yours)	5	23.8%
3 rd person	She	1	4.7%
Plural	Pronoun		
First person	Our	4	19%
Total		21	

Table B.2.3 shows personal pronouns of 1991-1996. The results of this table appear to have more varieties of pronouns than the first two tables. Besides the pronouns "you", "our" and "your", we can see the other two singular pronouns "I" stands for the speaker and producer, and "my" refers to something belonging to the speaker and producer. The percentages of their frequencies were recorded as follows:

The 1st personal pronoun is at 14.2%; the 2nd personal pronoun in the honorific title at 38%; the 2nd personal pronoun at 23.8%; the 3rd personal pronoun at 4.7% and the 1st plural personal pronoun at 19%. The results reveal that the frequency of the 2nd personal pronoun in the honorific V-form still remains at the highest rank. The second highest is for the 2nd personal pronoun in the T-form. Following the second highest is the first plural personal pronoun.

Appendix B.3

Findings related to words of expressive values: nominal group

Period One: 1981-1985.

Notions of the nominal group (NG)

According to functional grammar, a nominal group is 'the grammatical unit which allows the widest range of meanings to be expressed' (Thompson 2000: 179, 180).

In functional grammar a nominal group can be formalized in a structure basically including a Pre-modifier, Head, and Post-modifier. For this, see the table below.

Table B.3.1 The structure of the nominal group

Premodifier				Head	Postmodifier
Deictic	Numerative	Epithet	Classifier	Thing	Qualifier
The	Two	regular	domestic	flights	available
The	many	large	oil	companies	in operation

(Source: Bloor 2001: 140)

Although not all nominal groups contain these three slots, the Head, which is realized by a noun to tell people what is being talked about, is obligatory. The object referred to may be concrete or abstract. Modifiers are added to provide specification of the entity that is being talked about. One of the functions of the pre-modifier is epithetic, and normally it is realized by one or more adjectives. Thompson (2000: 179-184) claims that it can answer two main questions: "What do you think of the Thing?" and "What is the Thing like?"

As Leech says (1966: 151) advertising language is marked by a wealth of adjective vocabulary, and a poverty of verb vocabulary.

It is evident that the adjectives existing in the samples are more often used than other words, such as nouns in the nominal groups. In relation to grammar, adjectives in advertising are used in two functions which aim to show the attributes of products: first as modifiers at the level of word groups and secondly at the level of the clause as the predicate and both functions.

Modifiers of the nominal groups

The examination of nominal groups for expressive values in the language of advertising reveals that the words which are used by copywriters to describe products are mainly adjectives functioning as modifiers in association with nouns as heads of the group. Often each of the nominal groups in Chinese advertising is made up of one to three characters (including adjectives and nouns). The reason is that a small number of words may look more powerful, impressive and are easier to remember (Lin Xisheng 2007: 12). Another reason might be that a larger number of nominal groups which are shorter than complete sentence structures are used in advertising in order to save space.

Here, adjectives in nominal groups are considered first. Most adjectives in nominal groups are collocated with nouns identified as modifiers; these adjectives have a higher frequency than nouns, so they are a dominant part in nominal groups and used for evaluation for products.

In the sample advertisements, the epithetic adjectives seem to be more explicit as forms of positive evaluation to meet persuasive ends.

Setting up themes

It is quite self-evident from the above introduction to nominal groups which consist of adjectives and nouns that both modifier and head are embedded with the function of positive evaluation for the products advertised. The following analysis aims to establish particular meanings at the ideological

level and the changes in meaning during the three phases. Since the number of nominal groups (NG) collected from the sample texts is large, it is necessary to conceptualize them and group the words into themes. As Neuman suggests (2010: 459), "The researcher's goal is to organize specific details into a coherent picture, model, or set of interlocked concept." For this, "A qualitative researcher analyzes data by organizing them into categories on the basis of themes, concepts or similar features." That is the initial task for analysis of the data is to organize the concrete nominal groups into analytic categories of themes which are more general, abstract and ideological. The category is an indicator to show the presence or absence of the theme to be studied.

To set up themes is a process of classification and definition of words (data). Generally speaking, most of the nominal groups chosen from the advertisements contain positive expressive values. But in order to establish the ideological meaning of words particularly the adjective in a nominal group it is necessary to identify it at a higher and critical level and group it into a category of a particular theme which represents a particular ideological value. The themes for my sample words can be formulated in three ways. First, with reference to currently established themes used by the Chinese scholar, Zhao Jinjing's 11 thematic categories derived from the consumerism study of Chinese advertising. This study is based on the 42 indicators of cultural ideology introduced by Richard Polly, the Canadian scholar in 1983 and on the 31 indicators of the cultural ideology in association with the Chinese social reality made by Cheng Hong, the Chinese scholar, in 1996 (2012: 89-91). The second way is to formulate the themes from the meanings of the adjectives themselves. The third way is to build the themes from the meanings expressed through the collocation of adjectives (modifiers) and nouns (heads), (e.g. The "appointed factory" indicates "prestige" involving authority from the government, social

responsibility or the “on-site maintenance” is related to “service”). “It is an order based on utility, however not on ultimate truth” (Babbie 2003: 128). The advantage of taking this approach is that not all the adjectives can be identified with the words of the previously fixed categories; their interpretation depends on other contextual elements, such as the heads of NG.

Finally, 17 categories of themes were formulated acting as indicators about the general ideological elements in the NGs (consisting of the modifier and head) of Chinese advertising. Even so, there are still problems in defining each of the general and abstract themes in an absolutely accurate way, especially for newly created themes. Since “Specifying the different dimensions of a concept often paves the way for a more sophisticated understanding of what we’re studying” (Babbie 2003: 124) I decided to combine each general theme with some more concrete concepts in the file that can be considered as specific ideologies.

Code number	Theme	Concrete concept
1	Advance	Prominence, efficiency, technology, Hi-tech, intelligence, Novelty, Excellence
2	Advantage	Efficiency, Excellence, Plenty, Suitability, Speed, convenience
3	Aestheticism	Beauty, Color, Elegance, luxury
4	Prestige	Authority, Entirety, Excellence, Experience, Globalism, History, Nationalism, Popularity, Qualification, Status, Quality, Strictness, Permanence, Reliability, Superiority, Novelty, Profit-making, Perfection
5	Economy	Cheapness, Energy-saving, Low cost
6	Fashion	Recentness, Novelty
7	Function	Specificity (single function), multi-function
8	Individuality	Arbitrariness, Excellence
9	Passion	Benefit, Comfort, Happiness, Satisfying, Preference, Pleasure, Love
10	Quality	Excellence, Permanence, Reliability, Safety
11	Scale	Abundance, Completeness, Largeness, Plenty, Small amount, Mini-type
12	Service	Convenience, Thoroughness, Perfection,

13	Uniqueness	Nation, Specialty,
14	Variety	Difference, Completeness
15	Wealth	Benefit, Luxury
16	Nature	Air, ozone
17	Human	Human environment, health

Table B 3.2 Ideological themes in the advertisements

Table B 3.3 Elements used for establishing 'Prestige' in the three phases

Phase	Same (things shared)	Different (things not shared)
1 (1981-1985)	Imported timer from Japan Appointed factory by LIM Key enterprise The oldest factory Shangxi provincial high-quality award Golden dragon award National initiative and new product (title)	
2 (1986-1990)	High-quality title Big washing machine factory High-quality certificate Large international fair The biggest department store of China Golden sound award	The most popular product State-owned machine factory Domestic and foreign vanguard assembly line
3 (1991-1996)	National second level enterprise Designated factory of NMMEI Super quality award The first of the best ten advertising units Imported electric accessories	Advanced enterprise of quality and profit making International golden prize of the Chinese Household Appliance Association The most satisfactory product Life-time warrant Domestic and international well-known enterprise Multi-national certification High-quality and profit making enterprise Most satisfactory products

Appendix B.4

Findings related to experiential values of Grammar.

Table B.4.1 The participants of the clause in transitivity

Criteria	Actor	Material process	Goal	Beneficiary	Circumstance
a	The state-owned...factory	provides	the...fans...	for you	
	Behaver	Behavioural process			
b		Move about			freely and quickly
	Carrier	Relational process	Attribute		
c	Tian Tong ...	(is) ellipsis	New		Everyday...

These clauses from the sample advertisements are formed in the declarative mood. Each complete clause is unmarked consisting of three or four components in the transitivity structure of a process and one or more participants. Each participant is underlined by a set of labels such as Actor, Process, Goal, Beneficiary, Circumstance in respect of a material process, and as Carrier, Attribute, Identified and Identifier in reference to a relational and a behavioural process.

The table below presents the frequency and distribution of the clauses in the headlines of the three phases.

Table B.4.2 The frequency and distribution of the clauses of headlines in three phases (1981-1996)

process	material	relational	mental	behaviour	Total Processes	Total headline
Number	26	9	3	1	39	76

As shown in Table B.4.2 two principal types of process appear in these samples: 26 material processes and 9 relational processes, with 2 other types, namely, 3 mental processes and 1 behavior process.

Table B.4.3 The participants of the clause in transitivity – material processes

Actor	Material process	Goal	Beneficiary
The Swallow Dancing radio-recorder	Presents	A gift	To the National Day. (1984)
Shenyang Yi Li Electric Appliance Production Company	Pays	Tribute	To the mass consumers.(1994)

In these clauses, factories and specific products are labeled as actors, while the goals are “a gift”, “tribute”, the beneficiaries are “the National Day” and “the mass consumers”. None of the Actors are animate, but these inanimate enterprises, and products function as if they play the role of human beings. They are inanimate actors but personalized to do human work. That is, when the enterprises and products are endowed with human traits the objects are humanized so they can express concern and respect for consumers, and help them realize their desire on behalf of producers. Personification “refers to the practice of representing the world as a mirror reflecting human emotions” (Thornborrow and Wareing 2000: 105), and when these nonhuman products and enterprises are represented as the producers, it is used to establish a direct link between products and enterprises and their consumers.

Only a few animate participants like “the mass consumers”, are beneficiaries in material processes, because for most of the time human actors are excluded. The choice of a material process reflects and reinforces the functions of language with ideological values. First, what is emphasized is an Action. Secondly, Actors who undertake the action are enterprises and products which are inanimate rather than particular persons, but active and dominant in the interaction. Thirdly, the beneficiaries seem to be engaged in a face-to-face conversation, because the second person pronouns “you” and “your” are used. We can interpret these clauses as if the enterprises and products take action to benefit the respected customers. In other words, the

beneficial deed is done directly by products, and the enterprises are personalized and foregrounded as the active and key participants (actors) of the material processes to affect and act on customers (beneficiaries) who are in a passive role (Leeuwen 2008). This also suggests that the only animate participants are customers, who are the beneficiaries of the products and services through buying and using the products rather than the advertisers, and business men who are selling them. However, in reality enterprises inevitably make a profit if the commercial interaction of selling and buying products is accomplished. In this, a hegemonic function is performed by choosing the verbs in the material processes such as: give (e.g. "The electric blanket gives you the excellent heating product"), bring (e.g. "Using 'Bat' household appliances can bring great happiness to your life"), change (e.g. "The Peace color TV remote controller can change your ordinary into a remotely controlled TV"), provide (e.g. "The State-owned Hua Feng Radio Equipment Factory provides the fans for you"), offer (e.g. "The Rainbow mosquito killer offers you a sweet dream"). These verbs sound generous, modest and humble without any direct assertion of a business transaction, but they are euphemistic and weaken the commercial tone, by concealing a naked and factual monetary deal between buyers and sellers, by equalizing the position between producers and buyers, or even by limiting the seller's position. A false picture is created of a non-commercial interaction between producers and consumers in which those who receive or are given the goods are stressed as beneficiaries.

Besides material processes, there are relational processes showing that "an entity has some quality ascribed or attributed to it" (Halliday 2008: 120). Each relational process has only one participant with the verbs "has" (possessive attribute to show that one entity possesses another) and "is" (intensive attribute) (see Table B.4.4).

Table B.4.4 The participants of the clause in transitivity –relational process

Carrier	Relational process	Attribute
The Four-star double-door refrigerator	has	a big freezing chamber which freezes fast. (1987)
Yuanda color TV remote control system	is	your best choice (1995)

These clauses (Table B.4.4) focus on the advantage and merits of products and enterprises which are not treated as actors who conduct business with consumers. They reduce the sense of movement and action by avoiding the participants of agents and initiators, since there is only one participant in the relational process, the Carrier whose attribute has the status of a static state. Its existence appears to be natural and objective caused by neither animate nor inanimate presence. In this manner while the merits and advantage of products are placed in the foreground, the role of producer as a seller for profit is hidden.

The two processes used in a smaller number are mental and behavior processes. Mental processes “involve not material action but phenomena best described as states of mind or psychological events” (Bloor 2003). The subject of the clause is labeled as the *Senser* who experiences the process and the other participant is labeled as the *Phenomenon*, which are shown below.

Table B.4.5 The participants of the clause in transitivity –mental process

Senser	Mental process	Phenomenon
The Rainbow heating blanket	wishes	You a sweet dream (1987)
The stars	understand	my heart (1994)
Tian Tong Electric Appliances	satisfy	(consumers / ellipsis)(1996)

The verbs used in the mental processes of the advertisements are “wish”, “know”, and “satisfy” which intended to express or represent what the subject (*Senser*) knows and thinks about the products. However, the

constraint is that "The Sensor must by definition be a sentient being: a human or at least animate creature (except in metaphorical or fantastical uses)" (Bloor 2003: 118). That is, normally the subject (Sensor) of the mental process must be human beings or animate creatures who can think and perceive. When inanimate entities are used in these mental processes, it can be said that the expressions are conducted in the metaphorical and fantastical manner. In this, the entities are personified to make the "commodity-centered" advertising into an "advertisement with feeling" to "emotionalize commodities which becomes a warm stream to act on consumers delicately and easily" (Jiang and Dai 2002: 118). The personification and emotionalization can be thought of as the kind of variation that Wang Zuoliang and Ding Wangdao (1998: 418) claim "is the strategy but foregrounding is the purpose." Through variation from the inanimate to the animate, commodities come to the foreground with ideological functions and values. That is, in addition to their capacity for satisfying people's life needs they also create some emotional comfort for consumers through which the added ideological values to the products might build up a more positive image for consumers.

The behavior process is also used by the advertiser in a headline. "This is the grey area between material and mental processes" (Bloor 2003: 125). Halliday (2008: 107) says, "On the borderline between material and mental processes are the Behavioral processes". This means that someone acts out what he thinks. So the process has only one participant labeled as Behaver. See this example in Table B.4.6

Table B.4.6 The participants of the clause in transitivity –behavior process

Behavioral process	Circumstance	Behaver
Move about	Freely and quickly	Mermaid remote control(1996)

From the headline in the advertisement one can see that the behavior is performing his conscious wish, "Move about freely and quickly / Mermaid remote control"(1996)

It is obvious that in foregrounding the special function of the product the clause is formed in an inverted pattern: the behavioral process is located at the beginning and the behavior at the end. Then the inanimate participant (mermaid remote control) is personified as an animate behavior able to act on itself to move freely and quickly. This aims to make consumers aware of the advantage of the product: that they can translate their conscious demand into practice, that is, to choose (change) the TV program at will (freely) and with high efficiency (quickly).

From the introduction of processes we can see that the use of material and relational processes is intended to play a particular ideological function: that is, to deemphasize and exclude the human actors and reinforce the responsible image of personalized enterprises and products as if they are playing an active role, and concealing the real, profit-oriented activities by highlighting their public welfare behaviour for offering service and goods for consumers. Similar to the two main processes, the mental and behavior processes promote the products by expressing emotional experience about them and describing the movement so as to highlight the products' benefits/advantages and to make a positive impression on consumers.

Comparative analysis of headlines across the three phases

Table B.4.7 Transitivity (processes) of headlines during the three phases (1981-1996)

Process	Material	Relational	Mental	Behavior	Total Process	Total Headline	Mat. Pr. %	Rel. Pr. %
Phase 1	10	3			13	25	76	23
Phase 2	6	1	1		8	17	75	12
Phase 3	10	5	2	1	18	34	55	27
	26	9	3	1	39	76		

Appendix B.5

Findings related to Relational values of Grammar: declarative modes of advertisements

The selected advertisements from the period 1981-1996, showed 39 headlines made up of complete clauses. All clauses are in the declarative mode which consists of Subject, Finite, Predicator, Complement, and Adjunct formed in the mood structure (see Tables B.5.1,2,3).

Table B.5.1 The structure of clauses in the advertisements of 1981-1985

Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Mood		Residue		
The State-owned Hua Feng Radio Equipment Factory		provides	the ... fan ...	to you.
Using "Bat" household appliances	can	bring	great happiness	to your life.
The electric cup "Zhong Hua"...		is		of elegant appear....
XPB2-II "Ocean"	is	being tested		at the ... test center
The Yan Wu radio cassette recorder		presents	a gift	to the National Day
The 'Great Wall' fan		serves	you	wholeheartedly
The electric blanket		gives	you	the excellent heating product

Table B.5.2 The structure of clauses in the advertisements of 1986-1990

Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Mood		Residue		
Rainbow heating blankets		wish	you happy dreams	
		win	the most awards	
		enjoy	popularity	in China and the world
The rainbow mosquito killer		offers	you a sweet dream	

Table B.5.3 The structure of clauses in the advertisements of 1991-1996

Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Mood		Residue		
The computer factory of Qinghua University		introduces	refrigerating testing system...	
Stars		know	my heart	
Super value enjoyment (What) people see and love		belongs to is	elites the little talent	
The Chendian County electrical appliances factory...		provides	excellent supply	
Tian Tong electrical appliances		change		with each passing

				day
--	--	--	--	-----

The predicators in these clauses are realized by the verbal groups of: to be, bring, offer, provide, belong to, be tested, present, serve, give, offer, wish, win, introduce, know and so on. According to Halliday's giving or demanding, goods-&-services or information system (2008: 69), these verbal groups can be divided into two groups: giving goods and services, and giving information.

Appendix B.6

Grammar with Expressive Values

Expressive value modality in headline clauses

Modality is pervasive in its meaning of intermediate degrees between the positive and negative poles of one's utterance (Halliday 2008: 88). It is expected that in advertising discourse, particularly in the headline, modality can be found. However our survey of the clauses in advertising headlines reveals that there is one modal auxiliary in the advertising headlines of the three phases. What the headlines have in common are verbal groups of common verbs, such as "offer", "wish", "won", "enjoy" and "be". These verbal groups are in the simple past and present tense. There are no other modal word groups in the headlines, such as adverbial groups.

Table B.6 Modality of the three phases

Time period	Modal auxiliary	Action verb	Link verb
1981-85	can	Provide, test, make, have, receive, present, bring, serve, try	be
1986-90		Offer, make, wish, win, enjoy, offer	
1991-96		Satisfy, introduce, belong to, know, provide, provide, change, have, move	be

Thus, it can be claimed that on almost all occasions, modality in the advertising headlines of household appliances from 1981 to 1996 is realized by action verbs and link verbs.

Appendix B.

These are the results of the total numbers of body texts and their types across the three phases. In the first phase, out of 28 advertisements there are 20 hybrid texts (Table B.7.1), in the second out of 18 advertisements are 12 (Table B.7.2) and in the 35 advertisements of the third phase there are 30 hybrid texts (Table 6.4.4) . The body texts in a single text type are apparently much less frequently employed by admen. It shows that intertextuality of all three types is commonly employed in the advertising body texts.

Table B.7.1 1981-1985 types of intertextuality

Mode	Pattern	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	Total	%
1	AB	3				1	4	14.2
2	AB	2	1	1	1	1	6	21.4
3	AB		1	3		6	10	35.7
							20	71.4
4	A							
5	B			1	1	1	3	10.7
							3	10.7

Total number of advertisements: 28

Table B.7.2 1986-1990 types of intertextuality

Mode	Pattern	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	Total	%
1	AB			1			1	5.5
2	AB	1	1				2	11.1
3	AB	2	3	1	2	1	9	50
							12	66.6
4	A	2	2				4	22.2
5	B							
							4	22.2

Total number of advertisements: 18

Table B.7.3 1991-1996 types of intertextuality

Mode	Pattern	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	Total	%
1	AB	1		1	1		3	3	8.5
2	AB			1	3	6	4	14	40
3	AB	1	2	1	4	3	2	13	37.1
								30	85.7
4	A					1		1	2.8
5	B			1	1		1	3	8.5
								4	11.4

Total number of advertisements: 35

